

**BULLETIN OF
THE INSTITUTE OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURES
MADRAS**

1314
1971
JANUARY TO JUNE



**UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS
MADRAS.5, INDIA**



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Institute of Traditional Cultures
Madras.

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PREFACE

This issue of the Bulletin conforms to the same plan as the earlier ones. The sources from which the different sections are compiled are indicated in the relevant contexts. The Institute is indebted to all those who have helped in the compilation of the Bulletin.

The Institute is grateful to the Government of India and to the Government of Tamil Nadu for their grants for the year 1971 which has enabled the Institute to continue to function on the same lines as it did in the previous years. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice Chancellor, Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu, who is the President of the Institute, it is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings, and provides it with other amenities; its large academic staff in its various Research Departments in the Humanities offer their hearty co-operation in the work of the Institute. It also bears as usual, the cost of paper and printing the two issues of the Bulletin for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both on its administrative and academic sides.

I wish to add that with this issue of the Bulletin, I am retiring from the Directorship of the Institute which I have held from 1957. Dr. K. K. Pillay, M. A., D. Litt., D. Phil (Oxon) is taking charge of the Institute as my successor. He held the Chair of Indian History in the University of Madras (1954-66) and subsequently served as Professor of Area Studies (South Asian Studies) which falls within the scope of the work of this Institute, viz, the study of the traditional cultures of South and South-East Asia. It has been my desire to stabilize the Institute by making it permanent, especially because in the present context of the need for the mutual understanding and appreciation of the traditional cultures of the countries of South and South-East Asia, the Institute, whose work has been very well appreciated in India and abroad can function effectively towards this objective; and I am sure that under the fostering care of the enlightened Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras and President of the Institute (Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu) who is greatly interested in the promotion of cultural studies, the Institute will expand its activities and also become permanent.

30th June 1971.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

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DVAITA VEDĀNTA AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

BY

T. P. RAMACHANDRAN, M.A., Ph.D.

*Lecturer, Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy
University of Madras.*

SECTION ONE: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

I. The background to the evolution of Dvaita Vedānta

All the Vedānta schools agree that the central teaching of the Upaniṣads is that Brahman is the ultimate principle underlying the physical world and souls. All of them trace the whole realm of material objects and individual souls to their common basis, namely Brahman. The world and souls cannot be explained without postulating Brahman as their essential basis.

The chief difference among the Vedānta schools lies in the manner in which the world and souls can be said to be connected with Brahman. There are certain passages in the Upaniṣads which assert the non-difference of the world and souls from Brahman (*abheda śruti*) and there are others which speak of their difference from Brahman (*bheda śruti*). These apparently contradictory passages have to be reconciled, and the mode of reconciliation adopted by each school represents its basic philosophical position.

According to Sankara, the texts teaching non-difference are primary and those teaching difference are intended only to lead

to the real teaching which is conveyed by the texts of non-difference. Brahman is the only reality; the world and souls are mere appearances of Brahman and have no existence apart from Brahman.

According to Rāmānuja, the texts teaching difference and those teaching non-difference are equally important. The world and souls are therefore different as well as non-different from Brahman. In so far as the world and souls are imperfect, they are different from Brahman who is perfect. At the same time, they are non-different from Brahman in the sense that they form the body and the attributes of Brahman.

According to Madhva, the texts teaching difference convey the real teaching of the Upaniṣads. The world and souls are absolutely different from Brahman. But this does not mean that they are independent realities. Brahman is the only independent reality (*svatantra tattva*). The world and souls are no doubt separate from Brahman, but they are dependent on Brahman. They are dependent realities (*paratantra tattva*). According to Madhva, the texts which teach non-difference are intended only to emphasize the independent character of Brahman as against the dependent nature of the world and souls.

The nature of Brahman is also conceived differently by Advaita on the one hand and Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita on the other. According to Advaita, Brahman which is the only reality is beyond all determination. Hence attributes cannot be ascribed to it: it is *nirguṇa*. But owing to our ignorance *nirguṇa* Brahman appears as though endowed with attributes (*saguna*). According to both Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, however, Brahman, in reality, is endowed with all auspicious attributes and is identified with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.

Historically, Dvaita Vedānta arose as a reaction mostly against Advaita and to a less extent against Viśiṣṭādvaita. Madhva, who first expounded the school systematically, is said to have lived from 1199 to 1278 A.D. He appeared on the Indian philosophical scene after the schools of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja had become well established. His early training [was in the

classics of Advaita, but he was soon dissatisfied with this philosophy. His basic objections against Advaita were two,

Firstly, according to Madhva, Advaita ignored the testimony of common experience. Common experience presents us with a world of diverse particulars. Difference is real because it is actually perceived. Philosophy should not ignore the facts of common experience, but must seek their deeper significance. According to Madhva, neither reasoning nor scripture is inconsistent with the evidence of common experience. On the contrary, they only justify the fact of difference.

Secondly, Madhva felt that Śāṅkara's concept of *nirguna* Brahman did not provide for and was even detrimental to the needs of religion and ethics. (Religion, in the restricted sense of the term, is the belief in and worship of the personal God.) The human mind yearns for the warmth and solace that comes from believing in a personal God and offering devotion to him. God in the personal form is also necessary as the dispenser of moral justice. Without belief in God as the Supreme Person, there will be no incentive for moral action. Madhva regarded Śāṅkara's, Advaita as a barren intellectualism which ignored the needs of the emotions and the will in man.

On both these grounds Madhva felt that there was need for a new philosophy to counteract Advaita. Dvaita Vedānta thus arose as a pluralistic and theistic protest against the non-dualistic and absolutistic philosophy of Śāṅkara.

There is no doubt that before the time of Madhva, Rāmānuja (1017 to 1137) had formulated a system of philosophy which sought to be a corrective to Advaita in respect of both the objections mentioned above. Viśiṣṭādvaita admits the notion of difference between the world and souls on the one hand and Brahman on the other within a scheme in which the former are organically related to Brahman, the supreme personal God, as his body or attributes. But Madhva regarded Rāmānuja's admission of difference as inadequate. The postulation of difference in the midst of identity led to many logical contradictions in Viśiṣṭādvaita, which Madhva thought could be avoided only by

a thorough-going philosophy of difference which excludes non-difference. On the religious side, Madhva regarded such an intimate relationship as conceived by Rāmānuja between the world and souls, which are imperfect, and Brahman, who is perfect, as sacriligious. The idea of the supremacy of Brahman can be preserved only if we grant absolute difference between the world and souls and Brahman. The needs of theistic philosophy are fully met, according to Madhva, in Dvaita and not in Viśiṣṭādvaita.

2. Madhva's works

Like the other schools of Vedānta, Dvaita is based on the three fundamental scriptural sources (*prasthāna-traya*), namely the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the *Brahma-sūtra*. But in addition to these, Madhva claims support for his doctrine from the Itihāsas, the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas (Pāñcarātra Āgamas), and the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, especially the *Bhāgavata*. Madhva has written thirty-seven works, which include commentaries on the above sources as well as independent works. If the philosophy of Madhva may be described as 'Pluralistic Theism', in general, it may be said that while the pluralistic as well as the theistic elements in the system are derived from the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the *Brahma-sūtra*, the theistic element receives additional support from the Itihāsas, the Āgamas, and the Purāṇas.

3. The post-Madhva period

Madhva's writings were characterized by brevity. They were interpreted elaborately by Jayatīrtha (1365 to 1388). About a century after Jayatīrtha, the history of Dvaita begins to be marked by controversy of a protracted and profound nature between its followers and those of Advaita. During this phase, the Dvaita school produced such brilliant dialecticians as Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāya (1478 to 1539) and Rāmācārya, who contributed considerably to the development of its philosophy. Among the subjects of the controversy between the Dvaitins and the Advaitins, the more important are (1) the nature of knowledge, (2) the knowledge and status of the world, (3) the theory of *avidyā*, (4) the nature of Brahman, and (5) liberation.

The religious side of the Dvaita school may also be briefly stated. Madhva identified Brahman with Viṣṇu, or Nārāyaṇa, one of the three primary forms of God in Hinduism. Thus, like Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita represents the combination of the Vaiṣṇava cult in Hindu religion with the philosophy of the Upaniṣads. And devotion to Viṣṇu occupies an important place in Dvaita. In the post-Madhva period there arose a number of saints in Kaṛṇāṭaka who developed the cult of devotion to Hari, or Viṣṇu. They called themselves Hari-dāśas, or servants of Hari. The songs which they composed in praise of Hari in the Kannaḍa language have come to enrich the philosophy of Dvaita.

SECTION TWO: THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

TOPIC I. THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

1. *The status of the object*

The common assumption of all schools of epistemology is that there are three factors involved in knowledge—the subject which knows, the object which is known, and the process of knowing. The main difference among the schools of epistemology is in regard to the status of the object. According to some schools, an object exists independently of our knowledge of it. This view is known as realism. According to others, the existence of the object is not absolutely independent of our cognition. This view is known as idealism. The two views are not however mutually exclusive. Each represents the dominant trend of a theory of knowledge.

The epistemology of Dvaita may be described as realistic. It postulates the existence of objects quite apart from knowledge. The reality of the object remains unaltered whether a mind cognizes it or not. Further, as in Viśiṣṭādvaita, the object known necessarily possesses attributes, and there is no attributeless entity. It is not the object that is determined by knowledge, but it is knowledge that is determined by the object. The form of our cognition is determined by the attributes of the object. Thus the object of knowledge is *objective* and not subjective.

2. *The relation between the object and its knowledge*

Dvaita postulates a unique kind of relationship between the two, which is known as *viṣaya-viśayi-bhava*, or the relation between the revealed and the revealer. Like the object, this relation also is external to knowledge and not a part of it. It is not an idea, or concept. For each object there is a separate *viṣaya-viśayi-bhava* to connect it with its own separate cognition. The realistic attitude is evident even here.

3. *The relation between knowledge and its knower*

The subject of knowledge is the self (*ātman*). The self is a substance and knowledge belongs to it as its attribute, or property. In this Dvaita agrees with Viśiṣṭādvaita and Nyāya. But according to Nyāya, knowledge is only an adventitious attribute of the self. Dvaita points out that if this position is accepted, we will have to admit that when bereft of knowledge, the self would be reduced to an insentient entity (*jaḍa*). Therefore, along with Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita regards knowledge as the inseparable and eternal quality of the self. Dvaita also criticizes Advaita, according to which knowledge is not the quality, but the essence of the self. (It must, however, be remembered that the knowledge which is said to be identical with the self by the Advaitin is pure consciousness without reference to objects, which according to the Dvaitin, does not exist.)

4. *The characteristics of knowledge*

Knowledge is dependent on its object. The objects of knowledge are separate from one another and vary according to their qualities. Hence the resulting knowledge consists of parts (*sakhaṇḍa*) and is determinate (*saviśeṣa*). That is, we have separate cognitions and not one uniform cognition. And each cognition is of a specific nature which is determined by the qualities of the object. According to Advaita, as the basis of particular cognitions of objects, there is consciousness that is undivided (*akhaṇḍa*) and which is not determined (*nirviśeṣa*). This, Dvaita says, is impossible. According to Dvaita, (as according to Viśiṣṭādvaita) consciousness without a content is a contradiction in terms. Consciousness is always *about* something.

5. The process of knowing

Like most other schools of Indian philosophy, Dvaita distinguishes the self (*ātman*) from what is called the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*), or mind (*manas*), which is its accessory or adjunct. The *manas* is the chief instrument of knowledge. The *manas* undergoes transformation (*vṛtti*) according to the qualities of the object to be known. This transformation, or mode, assumed by the *manas*, is the knowledge of the object. The self is the agent {which initiates the knowing process, and therefore knowledge belongs to the self although it occurs in the *manas*. Since cognition takes place by a modification (*vṛtti*) of the mind, the knowledge (*jñāna*) that the individual souls (*jīvas*) possess is strictly called *vṛtti-jñāna* to distinguish it from the knowledge possessed by God (*Īśvara*).

6. Is knowledge self-revealing ?

Knowledge reveals objects. But how is knowledge revealed ? According to the Nyāya school, while knowledge can reveal objects, it cannot reveal itself, but requires another knowledge to reveal it. The knowledge of an object is revealed when we reflect upon the experience. That is to say it is revealed by an after-knowledge (*anuvyavasāya*). The schools of Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, and Advaita criticize this view on the ground that if one knowledge has to be revealed by another knowledge, the second knowledge too will have to be revealed by yet another knowledge, and so on *ad infinitum*. Therefore all the three schools of Vedānta hold that knowledge is revealed by itself. It is *sva-prakāśa* and not *para-prakāśa*. But both Dvaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita differ from Advaita on the nature of the self-revelation (*sva-prakāśatva*) of knowledge. According to Advaita, what reveals cannot itself be spoken of as the revealed. Therefore in the self-revelation of knowledge the terms revealer and revealed have no meaning. But according to Dvaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita, knowledge can be spoken of as both what reveals and as what is revealed ; knowledge reveals itself by itself.

7. The nature of God's knowledge

The knowledge belonging to the Lord (*Īśvara*) is, like the knowledge of the individual soul, possessed of parts (*sakhaṇḍa*)

and determinate (*saviśeṣa*). But while Īśvara has a knowledge of all objects simultaneously and continuously, the individual soul (*jīva*) knows each object only separately and successively. That is the Lord is omniscient whereas our knowledge is limited. The reason for this is that Īśvara's knowledge is not *vṛtti-īñāna* and is not caused by means of *pramāṇas*. The omniscience of the Lord belongs to him as his body or form.

TOPIC II. THE MEANS OF KNOWLEDGE

(Anu-pramāṇas)

1. Introduction

According to Dvaita, the term '*pramāṇa*' may mean either the *means* of acquiring valid knowledge or the *forms* of valid knowledge acquired through these means. The forms of valid knowledge reveal the objects directly, and the means of valid knowledge reveal them only indirectly, namely by giving rise to the forms of valid knowledge. To bring out this distinction the forms of valid knowledge are regarded as primary among the *pramāṇas* (*kevala-pramāṇa*) and the means of valid knowledge as secondary (*anu pramāṇa*). In other schools of Indian philosophy the term '*pramāṇa*' applies only to the means of valid knowledge.

Like Viśiṣṭādvaita, Dvaita accepts only three means of valid knowledge: perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and verbal testimony (*śabda*). The reason is this. According to Dvaita, the objects to be known (*prameya*) are only of three kinds: those that can be known immediately, those that can be known mediately, and God. Perception is the means of knowing the first kind of *prameya*, inference is the means of knowing the second, and verbal testimony is the means of knowing the third.

2. Perception (*pratyakṣa*)

Perception is described by the Dvaitin as the means to the apprehension of that which is comparatively proximate, is non-mediated, and present here and now. What is necessary for perception is the contact of the senses with the objects. This contact will result in valid perceptual knowledge only when both

the senses and the objects are free from defects. The defects in the senses are diseases such as jaundice in the eye. The defects in the objects are excessive remoteness, excessive smallness, excessive nearness, and so on. The presence of defects in either the senses or the objects will result in invalid knowledge which may be either illusion or doubt.

According to Dvaita, the senses (*indriyas*) are reckoned as seven in number. They are the five external senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch), the internal organ (*manas*), and what is called the *sākṣin*. The conception of the *manas* as an *indriya* and the postulation of a seventh sense called *sākṣin* are special features of Dvaita. The function of the *manas* here is to coordinate the five external senses and to act as a means to recollection, or memory. The defects to which the mind is liable are passions and attachments. The *sākṣin* is the witnessing consciousness, or the faculty of intuitive, or direct, perception. It is identical with the quality of sentience possessed by the self. The *sākṣin* is the purest form of *indriya*. It is not subject to defects and so always produces absolutely valid knowledge. The *sākṣin* perceives the objects presented to all the other senses, through those senses. Besides, it directly perceives certain objects which cannot be perceived by the other senses. These are the self (*ātman*), the internal organ (*manas*), the attributes of the *manas*, viz. pleasure (*sukha*) and pain (*duḥkha*), ignorance (*avidyā*), time (*kāla*), and the unmanifested ether (*avyākṛta-ākāśa*). It is a special feature of Dvaita that the self is known as an object by its own sentience, namely the *sākṣin*. Our knowledge of all the other six *indriyas* is also due to the presence of *sākṣin*.

According to Dvaita, besides the existence (*bhava*) of objects, the non-existence (*abhava*) of objects also is perceivable, e.g. in the statement 'there is no jar on the ground.' (According to Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā and Advaita, non-existence is known by *anupalabdhi* and not by *pratyakṣa*.) It may be asked, if non-existence is known by perception, with what is the sense in contact when it perceives non-existence? The Dvaitin replies that, in this case, the sense is in contact with the locus, or the place where the object would have been had it been existent.

The process of perception is as follows. First of all the self comes into contact with the mind. Then the mind comes into contact with the senses, and the senses in their turn with their objects. Perception follows when the mind undergoes a modification through these contacts.

It may also be noted that Dvaita does not recognize a pre-relational level of perception, which is admitted by many other schools. The common idea of perception is that it involves a reference to an object and its quality. For example, when we perceive a horse, we perceive it as possessing the characteristics of a horse. Thus perception is a complex phenomenon pointing to an object and its qualities in relation to each other. Hence perception is described as determinate. (*savikalpaka*).

According to the Nyāya school, there is a stage of perception previous to this where the object and its qualities are not brought into relation, but which are perceived in isolation. We must have perceived the object by itself, the horseness by itself, and the relation between the two also by itself. This earlier stage is called indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka*), because the three elements have not been compounded. This earlier stage cannot be directly known and expressed in words. But its existence is to be inferred on the principle that the complex presupposes the simple.

According to Dvaita, the existence of the *nirvikalpaka* level is an unwarranted assumption. It is not supported by common experience. The evidence of common experience is that perception, even in the first instance, points to an object as possessing qualities (*saviśeṣa*), and not as a bare something to be joined with qualities later on. Hence, according to Dvaita, perception is always *savikalpaka*, or determinate. It always involves the relation between the object and its attribute.

Like Nyāya, Advaita and Sāṅkhya conceive of a *nirvikalpaka* level of perception prior to the *savikalpaka*, but not in the same sense as conceived by Nyāya. According to Advaita and Sāṅkhya also, at the *nirvikalpaka* level the relation between the object and the qualities does not present itself. But this is so, not because the two are isolated percepts as in Nyāya, but because the two are merged together in a single sensation, or feeling. mass. At this stage the mind has not yet come into play. It is a level

of mere sensation. Subsequently, when the mind interprets the sensation through a *vr̥tti*, a distinction is introduced between the object and its attributes. Thought splits up the original unity, or identity, of what is presented into object and quality. It is thus that we perceive object and quality in relation to each other at the *savikalpaka* level.

The Dvaitin criticizes this view also. According to him, it is without warrant to suppose that there is a pre-relational level of mere sensation where the object and its qualities are in identity and that the distinction between them is newly introduced by thought. In accordance with his realistic position he argues that the mind does not interfere with the nature of the object. Therefore, if at the *savikalpaka* level perception presents objects in relation to qualities, this must be taken to be the nature of reality, i.e. objects are always with qualities.

3. Inference (*anumāna*)

Jayatirtha in his *Nyāya-sudhā* describes inference as a flawless reasoning from a mark to a certain conclusion on the basis of an invariable relation that subsists between them. There are three essential factors involved in inference: the reason (*hetu*), the conclusion (*sādhya*), and the relation of invariable concomitance between the two (*vyāpti*). For example, the presence of the mark, namely smoke, on the hill is the reason (*hetu*), for reaching the conclusion (*sādhya*) that there is fire on the hill, and the progress of thought from the reason to the conclusion is made possible by the relation of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) between smoke and fire.

The *vyāpti* is the relation of invariable concomitance between the reason and the conclusion. It is the vital element in inference. The method of ascertaining the soundness of *vyāpti* has been discussed by Indian logicians. According to the Nvāya school, the *vyāpti* is to be verified by means of positive and negative instances. For example, we may show that wherever there is smoke, as in the oven and the sacrificial altar, there is also fire. The method of verification by means of positive instances is known as the agreement in presence (*anvaya*). We must also show that wherever there is no fire, e.g., a tank or a river, there is no smoke.

The method of verification by means of negative instances is known as agreement in absence (*vyatireka*). But according to the Dvaita school, the method of agreement in presence (*anvaya*) is sufficient to establish the soundness of *vyāpti*. In proving the presence of a positive entity by means of the presence of another positive entity the consideration of negative instances is not relevant.

Comparison (*upamāna*) is accepted as a separate means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) by Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, and Advaita. Mīmāṃsā and Advaita further admit presumption (*arthāpatti*) as another *pramāṇa*. But Dvaita argues that neither of these is an independent *pramāṇa*. Both can be reduced to inference (*anumāna*).

4. Verbal Testimony (*śabda*)

Indian schools of philosophy are broadly divisible into two groups. Varieties of naturalism (*svabhāva-vāda*) assume that reality is confined to what is given in common experience. They, therefore, believe in the legitimacy of only perception and inference based on perception and repudiate testimony as a means of new knowledge. But the majority of schools hold that the realm of reality is by no means exhausted by common experience and acknowledge verbal testimony as a unique *pramāṇa* for knowing what lies beyond nature. Even in regard to sensuous matters there are many things which we cannot know by ourselves and for a knowledge of which we depend on the testimony of a trustworthy person (*apta*) which comes to us through his words (*aptavacana*). In the sphere of the supra-sensuous we cannot but absolutely depend on verbal testimony, or authority.

The validity of verbal testimony depends on the infallibility of its source. Among the schools which accept verbal testimony (*śabda*) as a *pramāṇa*, some believe that individual insight is ultimately adequate for a knowledge of the transcendental realm. Hence verbal testimony, according to them, has its source in the intuitive vision of a saint (*yogin*). A good example of this type of school is Jainism which traces its truths to the insight of great prophets like Mahāvīra. But according to the other schools, the appeal to the experience of an individual, however gifted,

involves a risk. As Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has remarked, a "vision" that has unfolded itself to but a single person may after all be an illusion. This is not to impugn the character of a saint. It only means that the realm of transcendental reality is not directly accessible to the mind of man, however gifted, morally and intellectually, he may be. Hence the excellence of the character of a teacher does not by itself guarantee the truth of his teaching. To avoid the possible defect of subjective notions being put forward as truth, these schools postulate verbal testimony that does not owe its origin to any human being, but is super-human (*apauruṣeya*) in some sense or other. Such testimony is the Veda, which constitutes revelation of truth. Since the Veda was revealed to inspired sages (ṛṣi), or 'heard' by them, it is called *śruti*. The ṛṣis were only the recipients of the Veda but not their authors. Since the Veda does not have a human origin, it is believed that it will not mislead us. But among the schools that accept the Veda as the authority on matters transcendental [described as orthodox, or Vedic (*vaidika*)], opinion differs on the exact nature of the impersonal character (*apauruṣeyatva*) of the Veda. Broadly, there are three views.

According to the Nyāya school, Vedic sentences are of the same nature as ordinary sentences. Hence, like the latter, the Vedic sentences too have an origin, though not a human origin. At the time of creating the world, God (Iśvara) creates the Veda and also reveals it to his devotees. Since the Veda has an origin, though not a human origin, it has an end also. That is the Veda is not eternal. The Veda is created and revealed anew at each creation of the world.

According to Mīmāṃsā, there is no need to postulate God as the author of the Veda. Again, as there is neither creation nor dissolution of the world as a whole, the question of revelation at a particular stage does not arise. The Veda is thus self-existent and eternal both in content and expression.

The schools of Vedānta effect a reconciliation between the Nyāya and the Mīmāṃsā views. The authority of the Veda can be absolute, only if the Veda is eternal. And the Veda can be eternal, only if it is self-existent. Hence the idea of an origin to the Veda—even if it be a divine origin—is unacceptable

to the Vedānta. But the world is created and resolved periodically, according to the Vedānta. There is therefore need for the manifestation, or revelation, of the Veda at the beginning of each world-period (*kalpa*). It is this that is ascribed to Īśvara. At the beginning of a *kalpa* Īśvara reveals the Veda to the most excellent of beings. Before their revelation the words of the Veda are in a confused state. Order is imparted to them by Īśvara on a pattern that is exactly identical with the pattern that obtained among them in previous world-periods.

We have now to note the special features of the Dvaita view of the Veda. The Dvaita school criticizes the Nyāya view of the omniscient Lord as the creator and revealer of the Veda. Firstly, Nyāya, which denies a permanent real body to God, cannot satisfactorily explain how God can create and teach the Veda. Secondly, the God of Nyāya is not the supreme being, but only a superior type of soul. There is no guarantee that such a God, if he is the author of the Veda, will not deceive mankind by false statements. Thirdly, tradition too does not mention any author of the Veda. The Mīmāṃsā view of the self-existent character of the Veda is ably supported and expounded by Dvaita writers—except that the Veda needs God to reveal it at each world-creation.

The Dvaita view differs from that of Advaita in two respects. Firstly, since the words of the Veda have to be manifested in a systematic way at the beginning of each *kalpa*, Advaita regards the order of the words (*varṇa-krama*) as non-eternal, though the words as such (*varṇa*) are eternal. But, according to Dvaita, the order of the words also is eternal, because it is the same order, that is reproduced by Īśvara at the beginning of each *kalpa*. Secondly, there is the question how Īśvara reproduces the words of the Veda in exactly the same order as in previous creations. According to Advaita, Īśvara is guided in this by the order which he effected in the words previously and which he remembers. Thus, the uniformity in the verbal order is not determined by God. But the Dvaitin considers it derogatory to the independence of God that he should be guided by his previous acts of revelation. Hence the Dvaitin postulates that the order of the words is determined by the Lord's own eternal intellect (*buddhi*). Since the pattern of the Lord's thinking is the same, the order of the Vedic words happens to be the same in each *kalpa*.

Besides *śruti*, Dvaita regards *smṛti* (like Purāṇas and Āgamas) as a source of valid knowledge. As in other schools of Vedānta, the validity of *smṛti* is dependent on *śruti*. *Smṛti*, unlike *śruti*, owes its authorship to human beings. It is therefore to be considered valid, only if it is in accordance with the Veda, or *śruti*. Madhva rejects the Pāśupata (Śaiva) *smṛtis* as not being in accordance with the Veda. The Pāñcarātra (Vaiṣṇava) *smṛtis* are claimed to agree with the teachings of the Veda. Jayatīrtha and Vāḍirāja go to the extent of holding that they are the creations of Viṣṇu himself and thus enjoy a status not inferior to the Veda. Thus Dvaita shows a greater leaning towards *smṛti* than Advaita and even Viśiṣṭādvaita.

5. The relation of the *pramāṇas* to one another

Dvaita recognizes only three *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *śabda*. We may divide *śabda* into two classes, *śruti* and *smṛti*. Of the four, only *pratyakṣa* and *śruti* are independent means to valid knowledge. *Pratyakṣa* presents the objects of the world. *Śruti* informs us of transcendental verities. *Smṛti* is dependent on *śruti*. It recalls, elaborates, and explains the teachings of *śruti* in a convenient manner. *Anumāna* can work only through a *vyāpti*, which it derives either from *pratyakṣa* or *śruti*. Thus it is dependent either on *pratyakṣa* or on *śruti* and enriches the knowledge derived by these two means.

Pratyakṣa has unquestioned authority within the realm of the sensuous. Similarly the transcendental reality is to be known only through *śruti*. But, as a realist, the Dvaitin accords a special place to *pratyakṣa* in the scheme of *pramāṇas*. If *anumāna* and *smṛti* go against the verdict of *pratyakṣa*, they are wrong. If the teaching of *śruti* seems to go against the evidence of *pratyakṣa*, the interpretation of *śruti* is wrong. *Śruti* has to be interpreted in a manner that is consistent with *pratyakṣa*.

TOPIC III. FORMS OF VALID KNOWLEDGE (Kevala *pramāṇas*)

In the philosophy of Dvaita, valid knowledge (*pramā*) is called by the special name of *kevala-pramāṇa* and the means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) by the special name of *anu-pramāṇa*.

Valid knowledge (*kevala-pramāṇa*) is generated by the operation of a means of valid knowledge (*anu pramāṇa*). In the main, Dvaita recognizes three forms of valid knowledge (*kevala-pramāṇa*) resulting from the three means of valid knowledge (*anu-pramāṇa*) recognized by it. These are valid knowledge resulting from perception (*pratyakṣa-pramā*) valid knowledge resulting from inference (*anumiti*), and valid knowledge resulting from verbal testimony (*śabda-pramā*). The distinctive features of these forms are determined by the nature of their means, which has already been described. What we have to note in particular is the special contribution made by the Dvaita school to the theory of the forms of valid knowledge. It is that Dvaita alone accords to memory and dream the status of valid knowledge by bringing them under perceptual knowledge.

According to Dvaita, the senses are seven in number of which the mind, or the internal organ, (*manas*) is one. The mind perceives all external objects through the five external senses. But it directly perceives objects in the past and also objects appearing in dreams. Thus it produces memory and dream-experience. Memory and dream are, therefore, forms of perception by the mind (*manasa-pratyakṣa*).

A form of valid knowledge (*kevala pramāṇa*) is defined as that which gives a correct representation of its object (*yathārtha jñānam kevalam*). Since memory and dream fit into this definition, they are regarded as forms of valid knowledge.

1. Memory, or Recollection, (*smṛti*)

The Nyāya school, the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā, and Advaita consider novelty (*anadhigatatva*) to be one of the essential characteristics of valid knowledge. That alone can be regarded as valid knowledge (*pramā*) the object of which is not already known or acquired (*anadhigata*). Memory does not tell us anything new. It is simply the reproduction of past experience. Hence memory, according to these schools, is not a distinct form of valid knowledge.

The Dvaita school considers the insistence on novelty as an unnecessary and unjustified restriction on the scope of valid knowledge. Valid knowledge need not necessarily be new. The

only criterion of valid knowledge is correspondence with the character of the object (*yathārthyam*), i. e. knowledge should not depart from the features of the object. Memory, of course, refers to a past experience. But it reproduces the experience faithfully. That is it recalls the fact that the particular object was in such and such a condition at such and such a time. This is sufficient to entitle memory to the status of valid knowledge.

The Dvaita school advances another argument also in support of its contention. Inference (*anumāna*) and the secondary scriptures (*smṛti*) operate as *pramāṇas* and give us valid knowledge only by utilizing memory. Inference depends on the relation of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) between the reason (*hetu*) and the conclusion (*sādhya*). Our knowledge of *vyāpti* is based on our memory of uniform instances. Again, the class of scriptures called *smṛti*, as the name indicates, is based on memory of the teachings of *śruti*. Neither *anumāna* nor *smṛti* would have any validity if memory were not a form of valid knowledge.

Memory is a form of perceptual cognition. It takes place by the contact (*sannikarṣa*) of the mind (*manas*) with the past. The impressions left on the mind by past experience, called *samskāra*, provide this contact. We know that knowledge by perception, unlike knowledge by inference, is immediate, because it does not depend on another means. Therefore, in bringing memory under perception, Dvaita accords to it the status of direct, or immediate, knowledge. Just as the perception of an external object is direct, i. e. not dependent on any other means of knowledge, the perception of the past, i. e. memory, is also direct, or immediate.

On the ground of being faithful to the object remembered, it has been shown that memory is a form of valid knowledge. But even if novelty be demanded, the Dvaitin points out that it is not wholly absent in memory. Memory-knowledge is novel in the sense that while the previous experience comprehends the object *as present*, its recollection presents it *as past*.

2. Dream (*svapna*)

Like memory, dream (*svapna*) is a form of perceptual knowledge which is formed through the agency of the *manas*

functioning as a sense. Dvaita regards the content of dream, i.e. the objects experienced in dream, as real, but we are not at present concerned with the reality or unreality of the dream object. The question to be discussed here is whether the experience of dream can be regarded as a form of valid knowledge. The criterion of valid knowledge, according to Dvaita, is correspondence with the object (*yatharthyam*). So the question is whether in dream the cognition corresponds with the object cognized.

Dream objects are subjective, or mental. They exist only in the mind of the dreamer and not in the external world. But during the experience of dream the object is mistaken to be in the outside world. This position is accepted by the Dvaita school in common with other schools of Vedānta. But in judging the validity of dream, the Dvaitin makes a distinction between the object seen in dream as such and the context to which it belongs, namely the mental. He then argues that when a dream is experienced, the cognition agrees with the object as such, but not with its context. For example, an elephant may be seen in dream as though in the streets of a town. Here the object known is known as it is, i.e. the elephant is seen as the elephant. But the field to which the object belongs is not known as it is, i.e. the elephant, instead of being known as a mental picture, is mistaken to be in the external world. That dream cognition corresponds with the object though not with its context, is evident when the person dreaming wakes up from the dream. The dreamer does not deny his having seen an elephant. What he does deny is only its apparent externality. For this reason, dream cognition constitutes a form of valid knowledge.

In contrast to this view, according to Advaita, there is no justification in claiming that in dream the object is known rightly though in a different context, for an object is nothing apart from the context to which it belongs. In as much as the dream-object, which is mental, is mistaken to be external, it cannot be claimed to be known as it is. That is why though the dreamer, on waking, remembers the dream-elephant, he does not identify it with the real elephant seen in waking experience.

TOPIC IV. THE VALIDITY OF KNOWLEDGE

Introduction

The Sanskrit word *jñāna* stands for knowledge in general, irrespective of whether it is true or false. True knowledge is called *yathārtha jñāna*, or *pramā*. It is that which reveals reality as it is. The opposite of this, or false knowledge, is called *mithyā jñāna* or *a-pramā*. In English the term 'knowledge' implies its validity. Hence the expression 'true knowledge' is a tautology and the expression 'false knowledge' is a contradiction in terms. False knowledge is not knowledge at all.

The human mind seeks knowledge that is true, or valid. The problem of the validity of knowledge (*pramāṇya*, or *pramātva*) may be dealt with in two parts: the relation of validity to knowledge and the criterion of validity.

A. THE RELATION OF VALIDITY TO KNOWLEDGE

Indian philosophers have discussed this problem from two distinct standpoints: (1) the standpoint of knowledge itself and (2) the standpoint of one who knows.

From the standpoint of knowledge, the question discussed relates to the origin of validity (*pramāṇyasya utpattiḥ*). How does knowledge come to be valid? To state the question more specifically—is validity intrinsic to knowledge or extrinsic to it? That is to say, is knowledge by itself valid or does it acquire validity from extraneous factors?

From the standpoint of the knower, the question is about the ascertainment of validity (*pramāṇyasya jñaptiḥ*). When is validity known? To be more specific—is the validity of knowledge self-evident, i.e. known directly and even as the knowledge arises, or is the validity known indirectly and subsequently to the arising of knowledge?

Both in regard to the origin and the ascertainment of validity four different views have been expressed by Indian philosophers. Although the problem of validity has been discussed by the

different schools with reference to each of the *pramāṇas*, or means of valid knowledge, we may confine our attention to perception in illustrating the different views.

According to *Mīmāṃsā*, validity is inherent in knowledge. The causes which produce knowledge, namely the *pramāṇas*, like perception, inference, and verbal testimony, are themselves the causes of the validity of knowledge. What the *pramāṇas* give rise to is not mere knowledge, but valid knowledge. Thus knowledge by its very nature is valid. Since the validity of knowledge is not dependent on anything other than the causes which give rise to knowledge, the validity is self-evident. That is, like the origin of validity, the ascertainment of validity also is not dependent on anything other than the causes of knowledge. The fact that knowledge has arisen is itself the evidence for its validity. This view is supported by common experience. Whenever knowledge arises, we do not wait to act upon it until it is proved to be valid. On the contrary, we act unquestioningly on our knowledge of things as soon as we have it. Besides, as *Mīmāṃsā* points out, this view alone accords with the purpose of knowledge. Knowledge comes into being solely with a view to acquainting us with objects. Therefore to question the validity of knowledge is to question the very purpose of knowledge. Thus the arising of knowledge is accompanied by the certitude that it is true.

This does not, however, mean that *Mīmāṃsā* is oblivious of the possibility of error, or false knowledge. Sometimes knowledge does go wrong. But it is pointed out that the cause of invalidity (unlike the cause of validity) is not within the scheme of knowledge, but extraneous to it. In addition to the *pramāṇas*, which are the direct causes of knowledge, there are factors which aid in the operation of the *pramāṇas*, such as the sense organs and physical conditions like light in the case of perception. These are the instrumental causes (*karana*) of knowledge. Defects in these (*karana-doṣa*), for example jaundice in the eyes or failure of light, interfere with the functioning of the *pramāṇa* and make the resulting knowledge stray from truth. Thus invalidity is not intrinsic to knowledge; it comes from outside. Granting that there is absence of defects (*doṣa-abhāva*) in the instrumental causes, knowledge can be presumed to be valid. We go about our

activities on the supposition that the knowledge that we form is true.

This theory that knowledge is self-valid, both in respect of origin and in respect of ascertainment, is called *svataḥ-pramāṇya-vāda*.

In contrast to the above, the Nyāya school holds that validity is not inherent in knowledge. The *pramāṇas* produce only knowledge. They do not also confer validity upon the knowledge. Thus the causes which produce knowledge are not themselves the causes of its validity. If the *pramāṇas*, which give rise to knowledge, themselves secured the validity of that knowledge, then all knowledge would invariably be valid. But as this is not the case, we must assume that in addition to the causes which generate knowledge there must be special causes which render the knowledge valid in some cases and not in others. These extra causes of validity, according to Nyāya, are the excellences (*guṇa*) in the instrumental causes of knowledge (*karana*), i.e. in the factors which facilitate the operation of the *pramāṇa*. For example, in the case of perception, the excellence in the contact between the self, the *manas*, the senses, and the object produces validity in the knowledge. Thus, while knowledge as such is produced by a *pramāṇa*, like perception, its validity is produced by the excellence in the instrumental causes (*karana-guṇa*). If the Mīmāṃsaka could admit that invalidity is caused by defects in the factors which are instrumental to knowing, why, asks the Naiyāyika, can it not be admitted in the same way that validity is caused by merits in these factors rather than by the *pramāṇas* themselves? Thus it is shown that validity is acquired from outside.

In regard to the ascertainment of validity also, the Nyāya school holds the same position. Since the validity of knowledge is not secured by the same causes which produce knowledge, we can know nothing of its validity from the mere fact that knowledge has been produced. That is to say, when we know knowledge, we do not know its logical worth. This is evidenced by the doubt which we often feel about knowledge. If the validity of knowledge were self-evident, as the Mīmāṃsaka holds, there would be no room for doubt. Hence to know whether the knowledge given is true or not, we require means other than those which

produce knowledge. According to Nyāya, the additional means through which the validity can be known consists in an appeal to the consequences of knowledge. Cognition leads to a desire (*icchā*), and desire to an activity (*pravṛtti*). If the activity is fruitful (*samvādi*), we can *infer* from this that the knowledge is valid. If it is not fruitful (*visamvādi*), the knowledge is thereby known to be invalid. For example the cognition of water is known to be valid if the substance quenches thirst and invalid if it does not. Thus validity is ascertained only subsequently to the arising of knowledge and through the extraneous means of a fruitful activity (*samvādi-pravṛtti*).

This theory that the validity of knowledge is dependent on extraneous factors both in respect of origin and ascertainment is known as *parataḥ-prāmānya-vāda*.

There are two other views which we may note only briefly. According to the Sāṅkhya school, both validity and invalidity belong to the nature of knowledge, and so no knowledge is completely valid. According to Buddhism, knowledge by its very nature is invalid. Its so-called validity, by which the school means only practical efficiency, is extrinsic to knowledge. It is not necessary to discuss the views of these two schools in order to explain the Dvaita view. Neither Sāṅkhya nor Buddhism fully believes in the capacity of knowledge to reveal objects as they are, whereas both Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya believe in such a capacity. The schools of Vedānta belong to the latter category, and so we may confine our attention to Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya. As between these two schools, the contention, as we have seen, is whether validity is intrinsic or extrinsic to knowledge.

All the Vedānta schools are opposed to the Nyāya theory that the validity of knowledge is both acquired and ascertained from outside (*parataḥ-prāmānya-vāda*). Like Mīmāṃsā, all the Vedānta schools believe in general that the factors by which knowledge becomes valid and is also ascertained to be valid are within knowledge, and not outside it. All the Vedānta schools thus believe in *svataḥ-prāmānya-vāda*. But it may be asked in what sense is knowledge self-valid according to the Vedānta schools. As regards the origin of validity, all the Vedānta schools are agreed among themselves and with Mīmāṃsā that knowledge

is self-valid in the sense that the causes which produce knowledge, namely the *pramāṇas*, themselves secure the validity of the knowledge. Only in regard to the ascertainment of validity, does each school of Vedānta have its own conception of self-validity. Therefore, in stating the Dvaita view of the validity of knowledge, we may confine our attention to this aspect of the problem, namely the ascertainment of validity.

According to the Nyāya school, the validity of knowledge is ascertained through extraneous means. The Dvaitin criticizes this view on two counts.

(1) The validity of knowledge is said to be known subsequently to its formation by means of the test of successful activity. But the latter itself is an instance of knowledge. When we speak of the *activity*, what we really refer to is our *knowledge of the activity*. Hence what the verification, or test, comes to is that the previous knowledge agrees with a subsequent knowledge. For example, the knowledge of water agrees with the subsequent knowledge of the thirst being quenched. But where is the guarantee that this subsequent knowledge is itself valid? According to the principle of *parataḥ-prāmāṇya*, or extraneous validity, the validity of this subsequent knowledge will have to be known by a further test. And, if we apply the same argument to this second test, the knowledge of this test will have to be validated by a still further test. This will lead to infinite regress, which is a weakness of the theory. If, in order to avoid the defect of infinite regress, the Nyāya school draws the line early and says that the validity of the first test need not be verified though it verifies the original knowledge, by the same argument, even the original knowledge would not require to be verified, that is to say it could be taken to be true by its own nature. In other words, Nyāya would have to accept the doctrine of self-validity (*svataḥ-prāmāṇya-vāda*).

(2) The theory of *parataḥ-prāmāṇya*, or other-validity, goes against commonsense. According to this theory, no knowledge when formed can be taken to be true. Its ascertainment as valid or invalid would have to wait till it leads to a fruitful activity or fails to do so. This would result in an endless series of doubts and suspicions, which would bring normal life to

a standstill. On the contrary, the theory of *svataḥ-pramānya*, or self-validity, accords with ordinary human experience, the basis of which is the belief in the certitude of whatever knowledge is given so long as there is no occasion to doubt it. The theory of *svataḥ-pramānya*, being thus realistic in nature, is adopted by the Dvaita school.

The special feature of the Dvaita version of the *svataḥ-pramānya-vāda* in respect of ascertainment is that it centres round the concept of *sakṣin*, the intuitive faculty which is of the nature of consciousness and belongs to the self as its eternal attribute. The *manas* is the chief instrument of knowledge in that knowledge takes place by a modification of the *manas*. But the *manas*, being insentient (*jada*), cannot reveal the existence and validity of knowledge. The power to reveal the presence and validity of knowledge belongs only to the *sakṣin*. The *sakṣin* is the constant witness of all that takes place in the *manas*. By its own natural power (*sahaja-śakti*), it reveals to the self not only what knowledge takes place, but also whether it is valid. Thus the basis for the ascertainment of validity lies within the scheme of knowledge, and not outside it. Therefore, according to Dvaita, the validity of knowledge is self-evident in the sense that it is apprehended, or revealed, by the *sakṣin*.

Sometimes the natural capacity of the *sakṣin* to grasp the validity of knowledge may be obstructed by defects in the *manas*. In such cases, the ascertainment of the validity of knowledge is indecisive, resulting in doubt. It is to remove the doubt that we resort to extraneous tests like fruitful activity. If a fruitful activity follows, the doubt being removed, the *sakṣin* reveals the validity of the knowledge. If the expected result does not follow, the knowledge stands condemned as false. The *sakṣin* has no part in revealing the invalidity of the knowledge. The invalidity is declared by an extraneous test. Thus, while validity is self-revealed, i. e. revealed by the *sakṣin*, invalidity is revealed by extraneous means. This idea of the ascertainment of invalidity through extraneous means is known as *parataḥ-apramānya*.

It may be noted in conclusion that the position¹ in Advaita as regards the ascertainment of validity is similar to that in Dvaita. According to Advaita also, the validity of knowledge is

revealed by the *sākṣin* and invalidity alone by extraneous means. But the concept of *sākṣin* is different in Advaita and Dvaita. We shall not enter into the details of this difference, as it does not concern us in the present topic.

B. THE CRITERION OF VALIDITY

The common-sense view of the purpose of knowledge is that it is to acquaint us with the nature of objects. This view is accepted by all the schools of Indian philosophy. In all the schools, the theoretical distinction between true and false knowledge is based on the fulfilment of this purpose. Knowledge is said to be true, or valid, if it conforms to the nature of the object, i.e. if it represents the object as it is. If it fails to do so, it is said to be false, or invalid. Validity may therefore be defined as the capacity of knowledge to reveal objects as they are. To know an object as it really is, is to know it truly. Applying this definition, most of the schools hold that in most cases knowledge is true, i.e. capable of revealing objects in their real character, though in some cases it departs from the nature of the object and thus becomes false. The Sāṅkhya school holds that no knowledge, according to the above definition, is either completely true or completely false, i.e. no knowledge ever represents all the aspects of the nature of the object. Buddhism believes that no knowledge in the terms of the above definition, deserves to be called true—all knowledge is false, i.e. we never know objects as they are.

Now, the definition of validity as given above, although it informs us about the nature of validity, does not help us to judge in actual cases whether knowledge is true or false. Knowledge is said to be true when it conforms to the nature of the object. But how are we to know in any particular case whether the knowledge conforms to the nature of the object? We cannot compare the knowledge with the object to see whether the former agrees with the latter, for we are never in contact with the object except through our knowledge of it. We cannot stand outside our knowledge of the object to compare the knowledge with the object. Hence the definition of validity, on which is based the theoretical distinction between true and false knowledge, is not adequate in actual practice to judge whether a particular case

of knowledge is true or false. We therefore need a standard, or criterion, by which to test any particular case of knowledge for its validity. The different schools of Indian philosophy have made their own independent attempts to forge such a criterion.

Broadly, we can find four different views of the criterion in Indian philosophy. They are represented by Buddhism, Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, and Advaita. We shall explain these views before considering the view adopted by the Dvaita school in the matter.

According to Buddhism, neither external reality nor the self lasts longer than an instant. Reality, whether material or spiritual, is a succession, or series, of states. We can have no knowledge of any particular state, for, though presented, it ceases to be in a moment. And since the states follow in succession, they produce in the mind the illusion of a permanent, or stable, object. Thus knowledge, by its very nature, cannot reveal the real character of things. The metaphysical significance of knowledge is next to nothing. Hence, in the light of the definition of validity as conformity to reality, all knowledge is presumed by the Buddhist to be invalid. Still, in common life, we do regard certain forms of knowledge as true and others as false. This distinction, the Buddhist says, is based purely on practical, not metaphysical, grounds. That knowledge is said to be true which 'works', i.e. which confirms the expectation it raises. The truth of knowledge consists merely in its practical value. Knowledge merely lights up the path of action; and so long as it successfully does so, it is regarded as true, no matter how mistaken all knowledge is from the point of view of reality. The fact that knowledge may be useful even though it does not conform to the nature of the object is explained by means of the following example. A person may see only the lustre of a shining jewel, but mistaking it for the jewel itself, may stretch forth his hand and happen to secure it. Thus, although all knowledge is basically invalid, since common life accepts a distinction between truth and falsity on the ground of practical efficiency, from the point of view of common life, truth, or validity, may be defined as workability, or fitness to secure the object in question (*prapakatva*, or *artha-kriyakaritva*). This new definition of truth itself serves as the criterion for judging the validity of any particular cognition.

To the Nyāya school, truth consists in correspondence with reality (*yathārthya*). That knowledge is true which is faithful to its object, i.e. which presents the object to the self as possessing that nature which it actually has. But it could easily be seen that this criterion is too general. It is identical with the definition of truth. It cannot be employed in practice to identify any specific case of knowledge, for it may be asked how correspondence with the object can be known. There can obviously be no testing of correspondence by comparing the knowledge with the object, for our contact with the object is necessarily through knowledge. Hence, although correspondence is suggested as a criterion of validity, the Nyāya school proposes a further criterion to determine the presence of correspondence. This consists in putting the knowledge in question to practice. To know, for example, whether the cognition of a substance as water corresponds with the nature of the substance, we have to see whether the substance cognized will quench our thirst. If it does, we could infer from this result that the cognition corresponds with the nature of the substance. Thus correspondence is known indirectly through a fruitful activity (*samvādi-pravṛtti*).

The need for a practical test does not, however, make the Nyāya view identical with that of Buddhism. To Buddhism, the capacity to produce practical results itself constitutes truth. Workability is the *definition* of truth. Truth is what works. But according to Nyāya, the production of a practical result is only a *consequence* of truth. The truth of knowledge consists in correspondence with the object. And by virtue of correspondence, true knowledge leads to fruitful activity. The activity should not, therefore, be identified with truth. We resort to the test of fruitful activity only as a means of ascertaining the correspondence. Thus, while Nyāya emphasizes the metaphysical significance of knowledge, Buddhism lays stress on its practical significance.

The third view of the criterion of truth is associated with Sāṅkhya. The Sāṅkhya position is briefly this. Knowledge is gained through the intellect (*buddhi*). The *buddhi* of each person has its own special bent, which is determined by the impressions of its past experiences. Consequently, the knowledge derived by an individual is selective. Only so much of the nature of an object is known as appeals to the mental disposition of the individual.

Although the *buddhi* does not distort the nature of an object, its knowledge of the object is necessarily partial. Hence knowledge is true only so far as it goes. To be completely valid, knowledge must cover all the aspects of the object known. But such a comprehensive view of anything is possible only for the *jīvanmukta*, who has overcome the limitations of the *buddhi*. The *buddhi* has three qualities, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. *Rajas* and *tamas* usually predominate the *buddhi* due to past experiences. These must be subdued and the *buddhi* restored to its dominantly *sāttvic* character. The ordinary man's vision of objects is bound to be affected by the limitations of the *buddhi* and so ordinarily knowledge cannot meet all the aspects of an object. Hence it is bound to be partial. The distinction between true and false knowledge is therefore only relative. Knowledge is said to be true if the aspects known are greater than the aspects not known.

Now, how can we find out that the truth element is greater in any particular case of knowledge? For this, Sāṅkhya suggests that we compare our knowledge of an object with all possible views of it, both with our views and with those of others, with what we know about the object at different times and with what others know about it at the same time. If the knowledge in question fits in, or coheres, with this whole system of the knowledge regarding the object, it is said to be true, and otherwise not. Hence the truth of knowledge consists in its coherence, or harmony, (*samvāda*) with the rest of knowledge. That knowledge which coheres with the rest of knowledge (*samvādi-jñāna*) is true.

The fourth criterion of truth is that of Advaita. This is put forward as a corrective to both correspondence and coherence. The correspondence (*yathārthya*) theory of Nyāya implies the comparison of knowledge with the object. As this is not directly feasible, the coherence (*samvāda*) theory of Sāṅkhya suggests the comparison of one cognition with the rest of knowledge itself rather than with the object. But even this theory has its deficiency. To know whether the knowledge of an object is valid, we have to compare it with all possible views of the object. This implies that we should in advance be in possession of the whole system of knowledge regarding the object. This, in the first place, is not possible, as the knowing equipment of each individual has its own limitations. And in the second place, if we assume that

such a comprehensive view is possible, the Sāṅkhya position that knowledge is necessarily partial would stand self-stultified, for we would now have a complete picture of the object and not a partial one requiring to be tested.

In view of the obvious difficulties of the coherence (*samvāda*) theory, Advaita suggests that, instead of wanting to see whether knowledge agrees with all other cases of knowledge, all that we need note is whether it is contradicted by any subsequent knowledge. This is the negative version of the coherence theory. A cognition may be regarded as true so long as its content remains uncontradicted (*abādhitā*) by a subsequent cognition and false when it is so contradicted. Thus, the cognition of a rope as a snake is false, because subsequent experience reveals the object to be merely a rope. On the contrary, the cognition of the rope as a rope is not contradicted in this way, and hence it is valid. Similarly, whereas the objects seen in dream are contradicted by the waking experience, the objects of waking experience, such as chairs and tables, mountains and rivers, are not negated in ordinary life. From the point of view of the highest experience, the experience of Brahman, even the cognition of these objects is invalid, as their content is annulled by Brahman-experience. Brahman-experience, however, is not only uncontradicted, but also uncontradictable, because there is nothing besides Brahman to contradict it. Hence the criterion of truth, according to Advaita, is non-contradiction (*abādhitatva*). Knowledge is said to be true so long as no part of its content is contradicted by the rest of our experience.

Of the four views of the criterion of truth stated above, the Nyāya view comes nearest to that of Dvaita. As in Nyāya, in Dvaita also, truth consists in correspondence with reality. A form of valid, or true, knowledge is defined by Jayatirtha as that which represents the object as it is: '*yathārtha jñānam kevalam*'. That knowledge which answers to the nature of the thing, that which does not depart from the features of the object, is true. Thus the criterion of truth in Dvaita is the same as in Nyāya, namely correspondence (*yathārthya*). But Dvaita differs from Nyāya in regard to the means by which correspondence itself is known. As we have already pointed out, correspondence is too general a criterion to be of use in judging the validity of any specific case of knowledge. There cannot obviously be any comparison of

knowledge with the object, for we cannot get outside our knowledge. Hence to ascertain the faithfulness of knowledge to the object, we need a further criterion. This, according to Nyāya, consists in an extraneous test, namely putting the knowledge to practice. If knowledge were faithful to the object, it would produce a certain result. And so, if the expected result follows, we infer that the knowledge corresponds with the object. Thus, in the Nyāya view, the correspondence is *inferred*, or known indirectly. This view is in consonance with the Nyāya theory that the origin and ascertainment of validity depends on extraneous means (*paratīḥ pramāṇya-vāda*). But the Dvaita school abides by the doctrine of the self-validity of knowledge (*svatīḥ pramāṇya-vāda*). Hence the means of knowing the faithfulness of knowledge to the object ought to be within the scheme of knowledge, and not outside it. On this consideration, the Dvaitin holds that correspondence is known through the agency of the *sakṣin*, the eternal witness of the entire cognitive process. The correspondence is self-evident in the sense that the *sakṣin* bears testimony to it. Thus correspondence is *directly perceived* and not inferred through fruitful activity. We have said that in Dvaita correspondence (*yāthārthya*) is the criterion of truth. As correspondence itself is revealed by the *sakṣin*, we may say that the ultimate criterion of truth is the *sakṣin*.

This, however, does not mean that the Dvaitin entirely rules out practical tests. In cases of doubt, i. e. when the natural capacity of the *sakṣin* to reveal the correspondence of knowledge is obstructed by defects in the *manas*, practical tests become necessary. But it should be remembered that the tests are needed only to remove the doubt, not to prove the correspondence of knowledge with the object. When a fruitful activity removes the doubt, the faithfulness of the knowledge with the object becomes apparent to the *sakṣin*. If the activity fails to produce the expected result, what is revealed by such a test is the lack of correspondence between the knowledge and the object. Thus, while correspondence (*yāthārthya*) is revealed by the *sakṣin*, non-correspondence (*a yāthārthya*) is revealed by unfruitful activity (*vi-samvādi-pravṛtti*).

We have seen that Dvaita agrees with Nyāya on the criterion in one respect, but not in the other. But it is entirely opposed to the criteria suggested by Buddhism, Sāṅkhya, and Advaita.

Workability, or capacity to secure the expected result (*prāpakatva*), suggested by Buddhism, cannot be the criterion of truth, for it cannot apply to cases of passive awareness, like witnessing a play. These are neutral and are not intended to lead to the acquisition or avoidance of some object.

Coherence (*samvāda*), i.e. agreement of the knowledge in question with another knowledge, as held by Sāṅkhya, cannot be the criterion. Firstly, the validity of the latter knowledge, with which the first one is compared, is itself in question. And corroboration of the validity of the second knowledge by means of agreement with a third will lead to endless regress. Secondly, even a succession of illusory impressions may agree with one another, and judged by this test, all of them will pass for truth. Thirdly, the awareness of pleasure and pain are unique forms of knowledge. Pleasure and pain are comprehended by the *sākṣin* directly. They will not admit of coherence with ordinary acts of knowledge, which are formed by the *manas*. For these reasons, the Sāṅkhya theory of the criterion is inadmissible.

According to Advaita, truth consists in non-contradiction (*abadhitatva*). The Dvaitin argues that non-contradiction may mean either that knowledge is not contradicted so far or that it is uncontradictable for ever. Mere absence of contradiction so far is not a sufficient proof of validity. There may be illusions, like the belief that the sky is blue, which would have to be regarded as valid merely because they are not contradicted, or disturbed, in common experience. If non-contradiction means the impossibility of being contradicted for ever, such a quality cannot ordinarily be ascertained and therefore serves no purpose.

TOPIC V. THE THEORY OF ERROR

Valid knowledge, or truth, is *pramā*. What is opposed to it, namely false knowledge, or error, is *a-pramā*, *bhṛānti*, or *bhrama*. While the problem of error has engaged the attention of all philosophers, it has received systematic treatment in Indian philosophy. But the Indian philosopher is interested in the study of error not for its own sake, but for the sake of understanding the

nature of truth. The examination of the nature of false knowledge indirectly helps in forging the criterion of true knowledge.

A theory of error has come to be called *khyāti-vāda*. In philosophy, the term *khyāti* means 'knowledge'. Error results whenever knowledge fails. Hence the term *khyāti-vāda* stands for the inquiry into the conditions under which knowledge fails.

Of the maximum of six *pramāṇas* recognized in Indian philosophy, *śruti* alone is free from error. The other five sometimes lead to erroneous knowledge. Of these, perception is self-dependent, but the other four (inference, comparison, presumption, and non-cognition) depend in some way or other on perception. Error which sometimes happens in these springs from error in the perceptual element involved in them. As the source of error is in perception, perceptual error has been examined in the various systems.

There are five main theories of error propounded by the various schools of Indian philosophy. As summed up in a common verse, these are *ātma-khyāti*, *asat khyāti*, *a-khyāti*, *anyathā khyāti*, and *anirvacanīya-khyāti*.

ātmakhyatir-asatkhyatīḥ akhyātīḥ khyatiranyathā |

tathā-anirvacanakhyatīḥ ityetaḥ khyāti pañcakam ||

There are also two extensions to these main theories, namely *sat-khyāti* and *abhinava-anyathā-khyāti*. We thus have seven theories of error.

The central question discussed by the theories is the reality, or existence, of the object of error, e.g. the 'silver' perceived in nacre. In dealing with this question, the theories of error fall into three groups. *Ātma-khyāti*, *a-khyāti* together with *sat-khyāti*, and *anyathā-khyāti* regard the object of error as existent (*sat*). *Asat-khyāti* and *abhinava-anyathā-khyāti* regard the object as non-existent (*asat*). *Anirvacanīya-khyāti* regards it as neither existent nor non-existent (*sad-asad-vilakṣaṇa*). We shall note the distinctive features of the various theories of error before stating the Dvaita theory of error.

1. *Ātma-khyāti*

This is the view of the Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda school of Buddhism. This theory of error is rooted in the subjectivistic metaphysics of the school. Vijñāna-vāda denies all external reality. The self, conceived as a stream of ideas, is the only reality. None of the ideas has any objective counterpart. For example, the idea of blue colour does not imply the external existence of blue colour. The ideas are not caused by anything external, but by the mind's own impressions (vāsanās). The so-called external object is a form of the mind, or idea. Error consists in thinking that the idea points to an external reality. The example of nacre appearing as silver is explained by the Yogācāra as follows. The so-called silver is an idea. It is imagined to be something external. The 'silver' is not non-existent. It exists, but only as an idea in the mind of the perceiver. Error consists in misinterpreting the nature of the existence. What is internal is mistaken to be something external. The later cognition which exposes this error merely corrects the misinterpretation. That is what the later cognition denies is not the 'silver' as such, but only its externality.

2. *A-khyāti*

This is the view of the Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā. *A-khyāti* means non-apprehension. According to this view, error is simply the failure of the mind to apprehend one or more aspects of what is presented. In the illustration of the nacre-silver illusion, the mind fails to notice those features which are peculiar to nacre, e. g. the dark exterior; it notices only such features as the nacre has in common with silver, e. g. the bright inner surface. This partial perception revives the memory of real silver, which, through non-discrimination, is identified with the object presented. Thus there results the illusion that the object presented is silver. We may take another example. A white crystal placed by the side of a red flower may be wrongly regarded as a red crystal. Two partial cognitions combine to give rise to this error — the cognition of the crystal *minus* its true colour, and the cognition of the redness *alone* of the flower. Thus error is lack of sufficient knowledge (*a-khyāti*), and not wrong knowledge. The Sāṅkhya

school also holds a similar view. Unlike the upholders of *atma-khyati*, the protagonists of *a-khyati* believe that the object of error exists outside the mind and is actually presented to perception.

3. *Sat-khyati, or yathārtha-khyati*

This view is held by Viśiṣṭādvaita. It is derived from the theory of *a-khyati*, but represents an even more realistic view of the content of error than the latter. Like Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya (which uphold the theory of *a khyati*), Viśiṣṭādvaita holds that there can be no knowledge without an objective counterpart. Even erroneous knowledge must have some basis in the external world. But Viśiṣṭādvaita differs from them in what constitutes the objective element in erroneous knowledge. To take the shell-silver example, to the Prābhākara and Sāṅkhya (i.e. *a-khyati-vādins*), the objective element in error are certain features in the shell which resemble those of real silver. But according to Viśiṣṭādvaita, there is a small proportion of real silver in nacre itself, and it is this that constitutes the object of error. Hence the name *sat-khyati*.

The Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas teach that every object in the world is derived from a combination of a maximum of five primary elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Taking his stand on this teaching, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin argues that by virtue of a common origin every object in the world is bound to have some elements of the other objects in varying proportions. Thus in nacre there is a certain proportion of silver. Nacre is mistaken for silver when our attention is focussed on this comparatively minor constituent of it namely silver, to the exclusion of the predominant nacre element in it.

The cognition of silver in the nacre is true to the extent that it is the cognition of what is actually present in the object. But it is true only to that extent. It is false because it ignores the preponderating nacre element in the object. The erroneous character of the cognition is revealed later when it is found that the silver perceived is so insignificant as not to have any market value.

4. *Anyathā-khyāti, or viparita-khyāti.*

This view is common to the Nyāya school and Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā. It is in contrast to *a-khyāti*. Both the *a-khyāti* and the *anyathā khyāti* views presuppose that error refers to an object in the external world. But the difference between the two is this. *A-khyāti* stands for failure to apprehend one or more features of the given object. The error is one of omission. This is a negative view of error. But *anyathā-khyāti* means apprehending an object in a manner which is different from what it actually is. It is an error of commission. This is a positive view of error. According to the theory of *a-khyāti*, the nacre-silver illusion arises from non-apprehension of the nacreness of the object. But according to the theory of *anyathā-khyāti*, it results from mis-apprehension of the nature of the object.

The object presented, say nacre, has two aspects, the 'this' (*viśaya*) and the 'what' (*prakāra*). They are represented by the subject and the predicate of a judgement. If we take the illustration given, in the true judgement 'This is nacre', both the subject and the predicate conform to what is given. In the erroneous judgement 'This is silver', the subject conforms to what is given, but not the predicate. The 'silver' is not presented to perception in the object. But this does not mean that the 'silver' in the judgement is either an idea, as in the Yogācāra (*ātma-khyāti*) view, or non-existent, as in the Mādhyamika (*asat-khyāti*) view. It exists in some other place, e.g. the treasury. The silver existing elsewhere is imagined to be present in the object presented. Thus the nacre is mistaken for silver.

5. *Asat-khyāti, or śūnya-khyāti*

The Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda school of Buddhism holds that there is nothing real, either external or internal. Error consists in mistaking the non-existent for the existent. In the example we are considering, the object of error, namely silver, does not exist, because the sublating cognition reveals it to be non-existent. Further, as nothing exists according to the school, even the nacre is non-existent. That is to say the illusion of silver occurs without any real basis, or substratum (*ālambana*, or *adhiṣṭhāna*). According to the Mādhyamika, an illusion does not require a basis.

He gives the example of *keśaṇḍraka* and the mirage. When asked how the illusion is caused in the absence of a substratum, the Mādhyamika replies that it is caused by the latent tendencies (*vāsanās*) of a previous illusion.

6. *Anirvacanīya-khyati*

This is the Advaita view of error. It differs both from the theory that the object of error is non-existent and from all the theories that assume the existence of that object. According to *asat khyati*, the 'silver' perceived in nacre does not exist. The Advaitin points out that if it were non-existent, it would not have been perceived. A non-existent, like a 'sky-flower' or a 'hare's horn,' is never perceived. These are mere words denoting nothing (*tuccha*). Hence it cannot be said that the object of error is non-existent. But from this it cannot be argued that the object is existent. If the 'silver' were existent, the cognition of 'silver' would not have been contradicted by the subsequent cognition of nacre. True knowledge is that which remains uncontradicted. Thus the object of error precludes both existence and non-existence (*sad-asat-vilakṣaṇa*). Since the object of error cannot be described as either existent or non-existent, the Advaita theory of error is called 'the apprehension of the inexpressible' (*anirvacanīya-khyati*).

7. *Abhinava-anyathā-khyati* — the Dvaita theory of error

The Dvaita theory of error is a combination of the salient features of *asat-khyati* and *anyathā-khyati*. The essence of the Dvaita theory is that the object of error is non-existent as in *asat-khyati-vāda*, but appears on the basis of an existent object, as in *anyathā-khyati-vāda*. *Asat-khyati-vāda* is right in regarding the object of error as non-existent, but wrong in denying the need for a substrate. *Anyathā-khyati-vāda* is right in recognizing the existence of a basis for error, but wrong in regarding the object of error as existent elsewhere.

The object of error is, according to Dvaita, totally non-existent (as in the view of *asat-khyati*). According to Madhva, the nature of the illusory object is to be determined in the light of

the sublating cognition (*bādhaka-jñāna*). In the case of the nacre-silver illusion the sublating cognition takes the form: 'there is no silver here; only the non-existent silver had appeared to exist.' For this reason, the status of the object of illusion, namely silver, is utter unreality (*atyanta asat*). *Asat-khyāti* is right on this point. The protagonist of *anyatha-khyāti*, although admitting that the silver is not present in nacre, is not prepared to recognize its absolute non-existence. He, therefore, assumes that the silver perceived in the illusion exists elsewhere. This assumption, the Dvaitin points out, is neither relevant nor necessary. Firstly, it is *irrelevant*, because the sublating cognition is limited to denying the presence of silver in the given object and is unconcerned with the question whether the silver exists elsewhere or not. Secondly, it is *unnecessary* on any account. The existence elsewhere of the object of illusion, namely silver, may be deemed necessary by the *anyatha-khyāti-vādin* either as the cause of the misapprehension or as the object of sense contact or as the basis for the memory of real silver. None of these grounds, however, is admissible. (1) Misapprehension could be explained even without such an assumption, e. g. by reference to defects in the sense organs. (2) There is no possibility of sense contact with the silver existing somewhere else. Nor would it be meaningful to suppose that the silver existing elsewhere comes down and presents itself to the senses in the illusion. (3) As regards memory, the memory of real silver is furnished by past experience of real silver, not by the silver of the illusion existing in another place. Thus the object of error is non-existent, and not existent elsewhere.

This does not mean that Madhva denies the part played by real silver in creating the illusion of silver. He does affirm that real silver previously perceived is remotely responsible for furnishing the background to the present illusion. But, whereas for the *anyatha-khyāti-vādin* the real silver is identical with that perceived as the object of error, for the Dvaitin the real silver is the prototype (*sadrśa*) of the latter. Its resemblance to what is perceived in the illusion revives the mental impression of silver. And the confusion between the mental impression of silver with nacre gives rise to the illusion of silver.

While the Dvaitin adopts from *asa t-khyati* the concept of the non-existence of the object of error, he rejects the other important idea in that theory, namely the absence of a substrate (*adhiṣṭhāna*). The Dvaitin is emphatic that there can be no illusion without a basis. The *asat-khyati-vādin* is not justified in denying reality to all the constituents of the illusory experience including the substratum. If the substratum does not exist, there would be nothing with which the senses could come into contact, and thus the experience itself would be impossible. Madhva holds that it is through contact with the real shell that the sense organ, vitiated by defects, gets a distorted apprehension of it as a piece of silver. In this respect the Dvaitin welcomes the theory of *anyatha-khyati* which postulates an existent object as the basis of illusion.

We thus see that the substratum (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and the prototype (*sadrśa*) are the two existent, or real, elements involved in error. Although the object of error is itself unreal, without these two real elements, error is not possible. They are, therefore, the pre-conditions of error. Thus Madhva says in the *Viṣṇu-tattva-vinirṇaya*,

adhiṣṭhānam ca sadrśam satya-vastu-dvayam vina |
na bhrantir-bhavati kvāpi svapna-māyādikeṣvapi ||

Without the two real objects, the substrate and the prototype, error does not occur anywhere, even in dream and magic.'

Estimate: The epistemology of Dvaita is realistic. It believes in the existence of objects independent of our knowledge. But the question may be asked whether the object of all knowledge, true as well as false, exists independently or only the object of true knowledge exists. Other schools like Viśiṣṭādvaita, the two sects of Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, and Nyāya imagine that to be realistic they have to grant that the object of even false knowledge exists independently. Among them, the upholders of the theories of *a-khyati* and *sat-khyati* raise error to the status of partial truth. To them error is not cognition of the unreal, but a partial cognition of the real. The advocates of the theory of *anyatha-khyati*, although admitting the non-existence of the object

in the illusion as such, find it necessary to postulate its existence elsewhere. Madhva finds that all these schools are influenced by a mistaken anxiety to preserve their realistic character. According to him, a realistic epistemology need not fight shy of error and seek to explain it away. It will lose nothing of its realistic character by openly admitting the non-existence of the object of error.

At the other extreme are certain idealistic schools which seek to solve the problem of error by questioning the very foundation of knowledge. To this class, according to Madhva, belong Śūnya-vāda Buddhism and Advaita. By denying the reality of all objects, the Śūnya-vādin reduces all knowledge to the position of illusion. In Advaita the distinction between error and truth is only relative. One order of cognition is regarded as true so long as it is not contradicted by another, and it becomes false after such contradiction. This, according to Dvaita, amounts to denying the validity of all knowledge, as in the case of the śūnya-vādin.

Thus the Dvaita theory of error seeks to maintain the balance between the theories which enhance error to the level of truth and the theories which reduce truth to the level of error. It maintains a clear distinction between truth and error. The author of the *Pramāṇacandrika* defines error as 'a cognition consisting in the conscious certitude that a thing exists just where, as a matter of fact, it does not exist'. (*taḍ-abhāvavati eva tatprakāra-avadharaṇa-rūpa-jñānam viparyayaḥ*).

According to Advaita, what is non-existent (*asat*) cannot be known. And so, the Advaitin asks how the object of error, which is said to be non-existent by the Dvaitin, can be known. The Dvaitin replies that what is non-existent is knowable, and this is revealed by the fact that we speak of the non-existent. To speak of what is non-existent, e.g. a unicorn or square-circle, is to grant that we know it. But, then, how is sense contact possible in the case of the non-existent? The Dvaitin replies that what the sense is in contact with is not the non-existent as such, but its locus, or *adhiṣṭhāna*, i.e. the place where the supposed object would have been had it been existent. Thus the sense is in contact with nacre, the *adhiṣṭhāna* for the non-existent silver.

SECTION THREE: METAPHYSICS.

TOPIC I. THE CRITERIA OF REALITY

Metaphysics, which may be described as *tattva-vicāra*, is the search for the ultimate reality. According to Dvaita, whatever is opposed to the real (*sat*) is to be described as unreal (*asat*), and the task of metaphysics is to discriminate the real from the unreal. Thus, the only distinction with which Dvaita metaphysics is concerned is that between the real and the unreal, the *sat* and the *asat*. To postulate, as Advaita does, a third alternative, namely that which is neither real nor unreal (*sad-asad-vilakṣaṇa*) is, according to the Mādhva school, illogical, for it violates the law of excluded middle. There can be no middle ground between *sat* and *asat*, which, according to Dvaita, are related as contradictories.

For Dvaita, the problem in metaphysics is how to distinguish the real from the unreal. What are the criteria by which we can determine the content of reality? The Dvaitin starts with a general criterion of the real and then qualifies it in stages to make it precise. The general criterion is this. Whatever can be known through any of the *pramāṇas*, i.e. whatever is an object of valid knowledge, is real. (This does not mean that an entity must actually be known by someone in order to be called real. What it means is only that it should be capable of being known.) The entire process of knowledge, i.e. the operation of all the *pramāṇas*, is by itself valid, or authentic, because it is witnessed by the *sakṣin*, the unerring principle of cognition. When, sometimes, knowledge goes wrong, it is due only to extraneous conditions. From this fact of the self-validity of the *pramāṇas*, it follows that whatever is an object of the *pramāṇas* must be real. It is true that, according to Dvaita, even the unreal, e.g. the hare's horn, is capable of being known—that is why we speak about the unreal. But the difference is that while the real is presented in valid knowledge, the unreal is presented only in erroneous knowledge. Thus the first criterion of reality is that it is capable of being an object of valid knowledge (*prāmāṇyavādyatva*).

We may also note the implication of this criterion. According to Dvaita, *pratyakṣa* is not inferior to *śruti* and is not contradicted by the latter. In fact, it has unquestioned authority within the realm of the sensuous even as *śruti* is the only authority in regard to transcendental verities. This doctrine of the independence of the two *pramāṇas* inevitably leads to the conclusion that reality is manifold.

The criterion as stated above, namely the capacity to be an object of valid knowledge, is not adequate to distinguish the real from the unreal. Valid knowledge is that which corresponds to the nature of the object. Now, what is the nature of the real object which distinguishes it from the unreal object? Thus from considerations of our knowledge of the real we are led on to the question of the nature of reality itself. There must be in reality as such a quality which is not present in unreality. This, it is said, is its relation to time and space (*deśa-kāla-sambandhitva*). Anything that exists in time and space is real. The unreal has no existence in, i. e. no relation to, time and space. Thus the illusory silver does not exist at any time and at any place, whereas real silver can be said to exist with reference to a certain point of time and space.

It may be asked whether the expected existence of the real is for all time and space. In other words, is only that real which is eternal and pervasive? In reply, it is said that even existence for a limited time and space will do to qualify for reality. Thus reality consists in existence at some time and place, and not necessarily in existence for all time and space.

According to the school of Śaṅkara, only that which is uncontradicted in the three divisions of time is real; anything that ceases to exist after a time cannot be said to be real. But according to the Mādhva school, reality is not determined by the duration and extent of existence. A thing does not become unreal simply for the reason that it is given in a particular setting and not at any other time or place. Thus reality is not necessarily eternal, as in Advaita. Even the non-eternal is real. Anything that comes into relation with time and space is necessarily real, no matter for how long or to what extent. The implication of this criterion is that not only is an

eternal and all-pervasive entity like Brahman real, but material objects are equally real, though they are not present at all times and everywhere. We have thus a plurality of reals in the Dvaita school. The difference between Brahman and everything else is not in their reality, but in their self-sufficiency, or independence. Brahman is the only independent reality (*svatantra tattva*); every other reality is dependent on Brahman and hence called *paratantra tattva*.

Advaita recognizes levels of experience with their corresponding notions of reality. The rope-snake or the dream-lion which is experienced by an individual is real only for him and for a brief period. Such objects constitute the phenomenal reality (*prati-bhasika sattā*). Objects like tables and chairs, mountains and rivers are experienced during waking life by many individuals in common. They, therefore, occupy a higher level. Since they form the content of daily life, they are called empirical reality (*vyavaharika sattā*). These two classes of entities are real only in a relative sense. The absolutely real (*paramārthika sattā*) is *nirguṇa* Brahman, for there is nothing to contradict its experience. No such 'levels of reality' are recognized by the Mādhva school. Any object is real in a uniform sense, no matter how limited the duration and scope of its experience is. Thus even dream objects enjoy the status of reality, since they have their own limited space-time setting in the mind of the dreamer. Thus, according to Dvaita, the criterion of reality is only that reality is not absolutely unrelated to time and space, and not that it is related to all time and space. The difference between the real and the unreal is that while the unreal is not at all connected with time and space, the real necessarily exists in time and space in however limited a measure.

Even the above criterion does not completely distinguish the real from the unreal. Although the unreal is not actually connected with time and space, it may *appear* to be so connected, as the shell-silver does. To distinguish what is actually in time and space from what merely appears to be so, the Dvaitin puts forward yet another criterion, namely practical efficiency (*artha-kriyā-kāritva*). The knowledge of the real alone possesses the capacity to produce effect. The cognition of the unreal silver does not produce any effect as the cognition of the real silver

does. Hence by means of fruitful activity we can identify the real. Here the Advaitin might object that even illusory objects sometimes exhibit capacity to produce effects which are either desirable or undesirable. The illusion of a serpent in a rope causes fear and may even lead to death. Illness is sometimes cured when a person imagines to have taken medicine. But the Dvaitin's reply to this is that even in such cases it is not the illusory object as such that produces the effect, but its real prototype (*sadrśa*) with which it is confused in memory. It is the memory of the real snake, revived by the rope, that produces fear. Likewise, it is the mental impression of real medicine, recalled by what passes for medicine, that cures the illness. Thus, in any case, the real alone produces effects, and not the unreal.

To sum up, the criteria of reality are present-bility in valid knowledge, relation to time-space, and practical efficiency. The application of these criteria naturally leads, as we have seen, to a pluralistic metaphysics.

TOPIC II. METAPHYSICAL CATEGORIES

By 'category' (*padārtha*) is meant anything that can be named and about which an assertion, or predication, can be made.

Dvaita recognizes ten categories. They are substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*karma*), universality (*samānya*), speciality (*viśeṣa*), the specified (*viśiṣṭa*), the whole (*amsin*), potency (*śakti*), similarity (*sādrśya*), and non-existence (*abhava*). Of these, the first nine are positive categories (*bhava-padārtha*). They constitute reality. The last is a negative category (*abhava-padārtha*). This includes the absence of anything real as well as anything that is not real. Of the positive categories, the first, namely substance, is the substratum on which the remaining eight depend. Again, Brahman, who is the first among substances, is the only independent reality (*svatantra tattva*). All the other realities are dependent on Brahman, and hence called *paratantra tattva*. Another distinction among the positive categories is that some are sentient (*cetana*) and others insentient (*acetana*). Again, some insentient positive categories are eternal, some are non-eternal, and some eternal in some respects and non-eternal in other respects.

Among these categories, some will be dealt with in detail in subsequent topics. Of the rest, again, only some need detailed treatment here.

A

Substance is the substratum of qualities, actions, etc. Qualities, actions, etc. inhere in substances and constitute their essence. Substance does not exist apart from qualities, actions, etc. But a distinction can be made between substance as such and what belongs to substance. Thus, substance is defined (as in the Vaiśeṣika system) as the basis of qualities, actions, etc.

Substances are twenty in number. Of these, Brahman, Lakṣmī and souls and sentient (*cetana*). The rest are insentient (*acetana*).

1. *Brahman*, or Viṣṇu, is the first substance. He possesses infinite attributes, whereas the qualities of all other substances, sentient and insentient, are limited. He is unique, i.e. different from every other substance.

2. *Lakṣmī* is the second in the order of substances. She is dependent on Brahman but independent of everything else. She is eternally related with Brahman and as such is known to be his consort.

3. *Souls (jīva)* are the living beings. They are centres of consciousness associated with physical bodies composed of the five elements.

4. *Space (ākāśa) and Time (kāla)*. The concepts of space and time have engaged the attention of all philosophers. Two basic questions have been discussed by them. We shall start from the common-sense view of space and time to indicate these problems.

In common life we speak of space and time only with reference to objects in space and events in time. Thus, we speak of the space inside a room or the space occupied by a building. Similarly, we speak of the duration of, or the time taken by, an event, say a war or a journey. These are what have been called empirical space and time, i.e. space and time as experienced.

They are limited, or finite, i.e. they have boundaries, and their measure is reckoned in terms of the objects and events with which they are related. Now, suppose there were no objects, would space still exist? In other words, is there space apart from objects, i.e. space as such, or absolute space? Similarly, does time exist apart from events? Is there an absolute time, or time as such? Some thinkers, Newton, for instance, have affirmed absolute space and time existing over and above empirical, or relative, space and time, and some others, like Leibniz, have denied them. In India, Jainism and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika regard space and time as entities capable of existing independently of objects and events, whereas Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya-Yoga regard them as purely relative to our experience of objects and events.

The Dvaita view accords with those who believe in the absolute existence of space and time in addition to its existence relative to objects and events. Thus both space and time have a two-fold existence. *As absolute entities*, space and time are infinite and undivided. They have neither beginning nor end, i.e. they are eternal. As such, they are prior to all experience of objects and events. *As related to objects and events*, space and time are finite. They get divided into definite extents and periods. Unmanifested, or undivided, space and time exist before the evolution of the world. But manifest space and time, or the divisions of space and time, are products of that evolution. Hence they are not eternal. Dvaita believes that divisions in space and time occur quite naturally and are not imposed on them or imagined to belong to them. Hence empirical space and time are as real as absolute space and time.

It is objected that absolute space and time do not exist, for space and time are never apprehended as such, but only in relation to objects and events. To this the Dvaitin replies that, although pure space and time can never be known by the mind and sense organs, they are not unknowable. They are known directly by the *sakṣin*. For example, the duration of deep sleep, which is eventless, is not apprehended by the mind, which is inactive, but directly by the *sakṣin*.

The second of the two questions to which we referred at the outset is whether space and time are objects of knowledge or forms of knowing. Are they entities independent of our knowing process or are they nothing more than mental modes? Kant held that they are the latter. He called them 'forms of intuition'. The Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophies also regard space and time as notions of the perceiver. Among the Buddhist schools, even the realistic Vaibhāṣika school regards space and time as mental devices in perception. But Dvaita agrees with Jainism and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in recognizing the objective character of space and time. According to the Dvaitin, objects and events would have no existence without space and time existing independently of the mind. Space and time form the matrix on which objects and events show themselves.

6. to 14. *Primal matter (prakṛti) and its eight evolutes.* Primal matter, or prakṛti, is the ultimate source of the physical world. Out of it the objects comprising the physical world are evolved.

Prakṛti is subject to modification. But it is eternal in the sense that, in spite of modifications leading to the evolution of the world, matter as such is not destroyed.

15. *The cosmic egg (brahmāṇḍa)* is the physical universe taken as a whole.

16. *Ignorance (avidyā)* sticks to the *jīva* and is the cause of its misery. It is of different kinds.

17. *Speech sounds (varṇa)* are of different kinds and their association produces words—words of the Veda as well as words of ordinary language.

18. *Darkness (timira)* is not mere absence of light, but is a positive category and substance.

19. *Mental impressions (vāsanā)* are the tendencies created in the mind by past experiences. They function as the material cause of dreams, which are considered real in Dvaita.

20. *Reflection (pratibimba)* is described as that which is similar to and inseparable from the object reflected (*bimba*). The

existence and behaviour of the reflection depends on that which is reflected. Reflection is of two kinds. The jīvas, which are reflections of Brahman, are eternal. Instances such as the reflection of the human face in the mirror or water are non-eternal. The distinction between the eternal and the non-eternal reflections arises from the nature of the reflecting medium (*upādhi*). The jīvas are eternal reflections of Brahman because the *upādhi* in which Brahman is reflected is indestructible, unlike *upādhis* in ordinary reflections. The idea of reflection is important in Dvaita, as its conception of the *jīva* is based on this idea.

We have so far described the substances, sentient and insentient. Whatever belong to substances and give them their characters may be enumerated under the following heads.

B

Quality (guṇa). Qualities like colour (*rūpa*) and taste (*rasa*) belong to insentient substances. Knowledge (*jñāna*), pleasure (*sukha*), pain (*duḥkha*), and so on belong to the sentient.

Action (karma) is of three kinds, moral, non-moral, and supra-moral. Moral action exclusively belongs to sentient beings. It is of two kinds: prescribed (*vihita*) and prohibited (*niṣiddha*). Among the prescribed actions, those that are performed with a desire for result are called *kāmya*, and those that are practised without any thought of results and solely for the purpose of pleasing God are called *akāmya*. Non-moral, or a-moral, actions may belong either to the sentient or to the insentient beings. They are such acts as expansion, contraction, going up or going down, to which considerations of good and bad do not apply. The actions of God, such as creation and dissolution, and actions of the released souls are of a special kind. They are described supra-moral.

Universality (sāmānya). By this is meant the characteristic of a whole genus, or class. It resides in each member of the class. Thus the state of a cow, or cowness, (*gotva*) is present in each cow.

Speciality (*viśeṣa*). Every substance necessarily possesses qualities. Qualities also are incapable of existing by themselves. Hence the relation between substance and quality is regarded as one of identity. (Not only permanent qualities, like the weight of a coin, but also changing qualities, like the colour of a cloth, are regarded as identical with the substance — changing qualities being identical with the substance as long as they characterize the substance, but not afterwards.) Now, although there is no actual difference between an attribute and its substrate, common practice distinguishes between the two. Thus we think and speak of the weight of the coin, which clearly signifies a distinction between the two. This discrepancy is explained by means of the category of *viśeṣa*. The peculiarity, or special capacity, in a substance which accounts for its qualities being distinguished from itself is called *viśeṣa*. It is by virtue of *viśeṣa* that substance and quality, which are identical, are spoken of separately.

In each substance as many *viśeṣas* are recognized as there are qualities distinguished, one *viśeṣa* being responsible for every quality being spoken of. God, who has an infinite number of attributes, has an infinite number of *viśeṣas*.

It should not be thought that *viśeṣa* is just another quality. (If it were that, then, some other principle would be necessary to explain the distinction between substance and *viśeṣa*.) *Viśeṣa* is only another name for substance and stands for its wonderful capacity to show distinctions within itself. *Viśeṣa* is also called *svarūpa-viśeṣa*, which name indicates that it is the very nature of a substance. A substance is constituted of several *viśeṣas*; it is a unity of *viśeṣas*. Thus, while *viśeṣa* explains how qualities come to be distinguished from substance, it itself does not require to be justified by any other principle. Hence it is described as *sva-nirvāhaka*, or self-subsistent. According to Dvaita, without assuming the existence of *viśeṣa*, it is not possible to explain how identical things come to be spoken of differently.

It should be carefully noted that the category of *viśeṣa* is not the same as 'difference' (*bheda*). Difference exists between one substance and another. But within a substance only a distinction is made between substance as such and its qualities, which two are essentially identical. And *viśeṣa* stands for this distinction.

Thus the concept of *bheda* and the concept of *viśeṣa* have different fields of reference. Both are necessary for the interpretation of reality.

The specified (viśiṣṭa). *Viśeṣa* distinguishes the substance and the quality. But *viśiṣṭa* is the substance and quality taken together. The substance and quality taken together has a nature different from the nature of each taken separately. For example, the 'blue lotus' is different from the lotus as such and the blueness as such. Similarly, 'the person with the stick' (*daṇḍin*) is neither the person as such, i.e. without the stick, nor the stick (*daṇḍa*) by itself.

The whole (amśin). *Amśa* means part. That which possesses parts, or is made up of parts, namely the whole, is called *amśin*.

Potency, or power, (śakti) is of four kinds. (1) The power of God and divine beings (*deva*) to perform seemingly contradictory acts, such as being seated in one place and yet being present in other places, cannot be comprehended by the human mind. Hence it is described as unthinkable power (*acintya-śakti*). (2) The power brought about in a thing through external aids is adventitious (*adheya-śakti*), for example the power that an idol acquires through the consecration ceremony (*prāṇa pratiṣṭha*). (3) Inherent power (*sahaja-śakti*) is the power of the cause, whether sentient or insentient, to produce effects. (4) The power by which a word conveys a meaning is called *pada-śakti*.

Similarity (sādrśya). When one thing resembles another, we perceive not only the two things, but also their resemblance. Hence Madhva regards resemblance or similarity, as a category apart from the thing to which it belongs. The *gavaya* has a similarity with the cow. Here the similarity with the cow has its locus in the *gavaya*, but it is not identical with the *gavaya*. Similarity is eternal, if the locus is eternal, for example the similarity of the released souls to Brahman. It is non-eternal, if the locus is non-eternal, e.g. the similarity of the *gavaya* with the cow.

Substances and what inhere in substances are the positive categories.

C

Non-existence (*abhāva*). The reason for regarding non-existence (*abhāva*) as a category is that, according to Dvaita, it is given in experience. It is because it is experienced that we are able to speak about it at all. Non-existence is perceived, though not in the same manner as existence.

There are three kinds of non-existence. (1) Antecedent non-existence (*prag-abhāva*), e.g. the non-existence of a jar before its production—there is no beginning for this non-existence, but it comes to an end when the jar is produced. (2) Subsequent non-existence (*pradhvaṃsa-abhāva*), e.g. the non-existence of the jar after it is destroyed—it begins with the destruction of the jar, but has no end. These two kinds of non-existence represent merely the absence of a real entity which would otherwise have been present. Hence they do not constitute unreality. They represent an aspect of reality. Hence the knowledge relating to them is not invalid. In these two cases the non-existence is directly perceived, the sense organ coming into contact with its locus. (3) Absolute non-existence (*atyanta abhāva*) is the exact opposite of reality (*sat*). It comprises imaginary objects, like the sky-lotus and the hare's horn, and illusory objects, like the rope-snake and the shell-silver—the objects corresponding to these words are absolutely unreal (*atyanta asat*), i.e. there are really no objects corresponding to these words. Unlike Advaita, Dvaita regards even the absolutely non-existent as having a basis in perception. For example, the separate perceptions of the hare and the horn form the basis of the combination of words 'hare's horn'. Again, the separate perceptions of real silver and the shining surface of the shell together lead to the illusion 'shell-silver'. Since what does not exist at all produces the semblance of existence, the absolutely non-existent is not unknowable, but wrongly known, i.e. it is the content of invalid knowledge.

TOPIC III. METAPHYSICAL ORGANIZATION

1. Introduction

Schools of metaphysics differ mainly on three questions. The first question is what is meant by the term 'reality', or what the criteria of reality are. The application of these criteria leads to

the second question which is what constitutes reality. The simplest way of dealing with this problem is to deal with it as a numerical problem. The question would, then, be whether reality is one or many. In answer to this we have a variety of monistic and pluralistic schools, depending on the criteria formulated. The third important question is, how reality is organized. For monistic schools the actual mode of this problem is how to reconcile the one reality with the diversity that presents itself in common experience. For pluralistic schools the problem consists in explaining the relation between the various entities that compose the whole realm of reality.

As regards the Dvaita school, we have seen that it believes in a plurality of categories. The problem is to see how these categories are organized. Although the categories recognized by Dvaita are as many as ten, to understand Dvaita in regard to the problem on hand, we may confine our attention to the three important substances, namely God, souls, and matter, which form the subject-matter of all metaphysics. These are organized in the metaphysics of Dvaita on two important principles—difference and dependence—both of which are implied in the term *dvaita*.

2. Difference (*bheda*)

The importance of the concept of difference in Dvaita metaphysics is seen from the fact that it is implied in the very name of the school. The term *dvaita* comes from the root *dvi*, which means 'two'. The term *dvaita* literally means 'duality' and 'dualism'. It implies that between every two entities there is difference (*bheda*), the strongest evidence for which is perceptual experience. Thus, according to the school, the whole realm of reality is characterized by difference.

The difference recognized between things is not only quantitative, but also qualitative. This is indicated by the statement which Madhva cites with approval: 'Diverse and of diverse attributes are all these things (of the universe)' (*bhinnaśca bhinna-dharmaśca padārtha nikhila amī*). Thus things are not only many, but also varied. One thing is not only not another; it may not even be like another.

Difference is said to constitute the essence (*svārūpa*) of things, and not an attribute of them related from outside. What is meant by this is that everything is unique. Each object has a nature of its own; and it is this uniqueness that constitutes its difference from others. Thus Madhva's system of metaphysics is a pluralism characterized by qualitative differences.

If we may confine our attention to the three important entities, namely God, souls, and matter, difference may be spoken of as of five kinds — the difference between God and soul, between God and matter, between soul and matter, between one soul and another, and between one form of matter and another. This doctrine of five-fold difference (*pañca-bheda*) is one of the two cardinal tenets of Dvaita metaphysics.

The Dvaita concept of difference has been criticized minutely by post-Śaṅkara Advaitins. According to Advaita, though common experience presents us difference between one thing and another, difference cannot be ultimately real. But Dvaita regards difference as real and eternal. Such a concept of difference has been defended by Dvaita thinkers against the criticisms of the Advaitins. We shall deal with this development later. What we are here concerned with is the fact that the recognition of difference as an ineluctable and permanent factor in reality marks out Dvaita not only from Śaṅkara's Advaita, but also from all forms of monism.

3. Dependence on God (*parādhīnatva*)

The idea of difference does not complete the metaphysical system of Dvaita. If difference were the only truth of things, there would be no order among them. But we do find order in the scheme of things. This fact must be explained. There must, therefore, be some principle other than difference which binds the various realities into an ordered whole. This, Madhva believes, is the principle of dependence on God (*parādhīnatva*). *Para* means another; it also means God, or the Supreme Being. *Adhīnatva* means dependence.

Like the idea of difference, the idea of dependence is based on common observation. Everything depends on some other thing. The physical body, for example, depends on the soul to which it

pertains, although it is quite different from it. The son depends on the father. Thus dependence on another is a matter of common observation. Extending this principle, Madhva says that ultimately everything depends on God. But God himself must be independent in order that everything may depend on him.

Thus the whole scheme of realities may be divided into two broad categories: God, or Brahman, the only independent reality (*svatantra tattva*), and all the other realities, which are dependent on God (*paratantra tattva*, or *asvatantra tattva*). This idea is also implied in the term *dvaita*. Madhva expresses this idea in two of his works as follows. 'Reality is regarded as of two kinds, *svatantra* and *asvatantra*' (*svatantram asvatantram ca dvividham tattvam-iṣyate*) — *Tattva-samkhyāna*. 'The object of certain knowledge is admitted to be of two orders, *svatantra* and *asvatantra*' (*svatantram asvatantram ca prameyam dvividham matam*) — *Tattva-viveka*. The same idea is expressed by Jayatirtha in his *Nyāya-sūtra* as follows. 'The object of certain knowledge is of two orders, *svatantra* and *paratantra*' (*dvividham hi prameyam svatantram paratantram ca*).

We have now to explain the meaning of independence and dependence. That is said to be independent (*svatantra*) which can, of its own accord, exist, know, and act. Such an entity is God alone. Everything else can exist, know, and function only at God's will, and, for this reason, it is said to be dependent (*paratantra*).

It is to be noted that Madhva ascribes not only the activity and knowledge, but even the being, or existence, of everything else to God. This does not mean that the existence of everything else is *derived* from God. What it means is that, though other things exist besides God, they exist only by God's grace and would at once come to nothing, if that grace were withdrawn. This idea is indicated in the following verse occurring in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* quoted by Madhva in his works.

'(He) by whose grace alone matter, action, time, disposition, and soul exist and without whom (they) do not exist.....'

*dravyam karma ca kālāśca svabhavo jīva eva ca
yad-anugrahataḥ santi na santi yad-apekṣayā* |

Confining our attention to the souls and material world, we may, therefore, say that, though they exist eternally like God, they exist only by God's grace.

Now, God, on whom the souls and world depend for their existence, not only presides over them from outside, but also controls them from inside. He not only transcends both, but is also immanent in them. For this reason, the dependence of the souls and world on God in respect of their existence is not merely in an external sense, like a building resting on its foundation. It is not partial and distant, but total and essential. That is to say, the souls and world exist not only *because of* God, but also *for the sake of God*. Though both are different from God, they have no significance, or purpose, of their own. They serve only to express God's greatness, and this is the purpose of their existence. That the souls and the material world exist only as revelations of God's greatness is evident in knowledge and activity.

The soul is different from God; but the difference is not absolute as in the case of matter. Like God, the soul has sentience and bliss, though on a much lower scale. For this reason, Dvaita regards the soul as the reflection (*pratibimba*, or *abhasa*) of God, who is regarded as the one who is reflected (*bimba*). And just as the reflection of the moon is entirely dependent on the moon, even so the soul, which is a reflection of Brahman, is absolutely dependent on Brahman, not only for its existence, but also for its knowledge and activity. The soul's ignorance and bondage as well as its knowledge and liberation are caused by God. And so each of these aspects of the soul's existence serves only to show how great God is.

Matter is insentient (*jada*). Hence it is absolutely different from Brahman. It has only existence and activity. For both these it is entirely dependent on Brahman. According to Dvaita, however spiritually advanced a soul is, it can be conscious of God only through God's manifestations in the world. Hence, out of God's grace towards the souls, matter exists and continually evolves into its various forms. Matter, according to Dvaita, is not a part of Brahman. It is separate from Brahman. But matter being insentient, cannot evolve without the agency of Brahman.

God has nothing to gain by evolving the world out of matter. In fact, the entire process of creation, sustentation, and dissolution of the world together with the regulation of the world while it lasts is but a revelation of God's perfection and is meant as an opportunity for the souls to know God and attain liberation.

Thus, in the metaphysical system of Dvaita, realities, which are many, are bound by a single divine purpose, which is the revelation of God's perfection.

4. *The relation between difference and dependence*

We have seen that the metaphysical pattern of Dvaita is characterized by the twin principles of difference and dependence. The proper understanding of the nature of Dvaita metaphysics depends on equal importance being given to these two principles. There is no doubt that the concept of difference (*bheda*) is important for this school. By virtue of it, Dvaita well deserves to be called a pluralism. It arrives at a conception of reality as manifold. But Dvaita is not a pluralism in the ordinary acceptation of the term, like Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika or Jainism, which postulates many independent realities. It must be remembered that Dvaita belongs to the $\frac{1}{2}$ Vedānta tradition, which is distinguished from other traditions by the recognition that Brahman, in some sense or other, is the central reality. In Dvaita, the conception of all other realities being dependent on the one independent reality, namely Brahman, makes for unity. Thus the concept of dependence is equally important in Dvaita. But this aspect, again, may tend to be over-stressed. The concept of dependence is not to be taken as introducing any monistic tendency into the system. The fact that the world and souls are dependent on God even for their existence does not mean that they do not exist separately. The world and souls exist separately from God, though by God's grace and for the sake of God. The unity effected by the concept of dependence is not "numerical", but "teleological" — to use Prof. Hiriyantha's expression. The concept of dependence does not level down differences and merge the realities into one. It just holds them together, like the cord in a garland, and accords to them the true meaning of their existence. The many are not reduced to the one; but the many dependents become significant through the only independent

one. We have thus a system of realities which are different, but not isolated, and united, but not identical. Madhva's metaphysics is thus a pluralism in Vedānta which avoids the pitfalls of bare pluralism without, at the same time, compromising the essentials of pluralism.

TOPIC IV. THE CONCEPT OF GOD (Brahman)

The idea of God in Dvaita is fully theistic. The general features of a theistic philosophy (as distinguished from an absolutistic philosophy) may be reckoned as follows. (1) God is not the only reality, but is the *supreme* reality. The world and souls are also real but they are subservient to God. (2) God is endowed with *personality*, being conceived from concepts relating to the human person raised to the superlative degree. He has infinite attributes in an infinite degree. (3) God is the *creator* of the world—he creates the world out of material other than himself. He also controls the world and the destinies of the souls. (4) As the supreme being endowed with personality and as the creator and controller, he becomes an *object of worship* for the souls. All these features may be said to be present in the Dvaita concept of God.

1. God as the supreme being

The basic requirement of religious consciousness is the idea of a supreme being who inspires love and adoration. In Dvaita the supremacy of God is ensured by the idea of his independence (*svatantratva*). God is so different from matter and souls—so free from all the imperfections that characterize the world and souls—that he is the only independent reality (*svatantra tattva*). According to Jayatirtha, that is independent which exists, knows, and acts by its own nature and without requiring another (*svarūpa-pramiti-pravṛtti-lakṣaṇa-satta-traividhye para-anapekṣam svatantram*). Such an entity is God alone. These marks of independence in God may be summed up in one word: 'self-determination' (*svecchanusaritva*). Matter and souls are no doubt eternal realities. But their eternality does not imply their independence, for they have no significance in themselves. They are determined, or conditioned, by the will of God who expresses himself through

them. In fact, the dependent character of the world and souls is itself a proof for the independence of God.

The supremacy of God in Dvaita is all the more evident when we remember that God is not only transcendent, but also immanent. He not only presides over the world and souls from without, but also controls and guides them from within, so that their dependence on God is in an absolute sense. It is not as if God's hands are off once the world is created. (Dvaita is not a deism.) The idea of the immanence of God in the world and souls implies that they are dependent on him at every moment of their existence and in every one of their states.

It may be noted that the conception of God in Dvaita is different from that in the philosophies of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Yoga. In the history of both Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Yoga the idea of God is a later development and as such is loosely connected with their metaphysical doctrines. Consequently, in neither of these schools is God the supreme being as in Dvaita. Firstly, both in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Yoga God is of the same order of entities as the individual souls, though he has his own excellences and powers which the other souls do not possess. Secondly, although the God of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Yoga has some part to play in creating the world, he is regarded as entirely external to the world and souls, so that his power over them is limited.

Even among the schools of Vedānta, the idea of the supremacy of God, it is claimed, is not as much ensured as in Dvaita. So far as Advaita is concerned, its concept of *nirguṇa* Brahman falls outside the scope of theism, and its concept of *saguṇa* Brahman is only provisional. Among the other Vedānta schools, although the idea of a supreme being is final, its supremacy is compromised in one way or another. The Brahman of Viśiṣṭādvaita cannot be said to be free from the imperfections of the world and souls, for the latter are regarded as intimately related to God as his body. Again, all the schools of Vedānta that subscribe to the doctrine of Brahman evolving the world out of himself (*Brahma-pariṇāna vāda*) undermine the concept of supremacy by introducing the idea of change in Brahman,

2. God as possessed of personality

God, or Brahman, in Madhva's philosophy is not an abstract principle, but is the Divine Person conceived on the model of the human person. He is therefore called *Īśvara*, or *Bhagavān*, and is identified with *Viṣṇu* of the Hindu trinity.

The personality of God is the sum-total of his qualities. The idea of personality thus implies the presence of qualities in God. Brahman is therefore *sa-guṇa*, i.e. possessed of attributes. He is full of all excellences (*sarva-guṇa-pūrṇa*). At the same time he does not have any trace of any defect (*sarva-doṣa-gandha vidhura*). These two aspects together constitute God's perfection.

The Lord's attributes are infinite in number and degree. The numerous attributes of God are not his external trappings. They are part of his nature. Yet they are distinguished from God by means of the category of *viśeṣas*. (The peculiarity, or special capacity, in a substance which accounts for its qualities being distinguished from itself is called *viśeṣa*.) While all his attributes are united with and inseparable from himself, God yet reveals his various attributes through his innumerable *viśeṣas*. It is to be remembered that God's attributes are not only many, but also of various kinds. These have to be distinguished not only from God, but also among themselves for their orderly operation. For example, with reference to the world, God's will has two aspects, latency (*śakti*) and patency (*vyakti*). The former is the will to create the world, the latter the will to resolve it. If the two had not been clearly demarcated, there would have been no regular succession of creation and resolution. Hence the orderly arrangement of events in the universe presupposes that, although a variety of qualities belongs to God, the qualities do not overlap, but, on the contrary, are clearly distinguished from one another to be used as occasion demands. This is possible only through the agency of the *viśeṣas* in God. Brahman is therefore described as *sa-viśeṣa* — one who has *viśeṣas*. His attributes are infinite. In order to distinguish the infinite number of attributes within himself Brahman is characterized by innumerable *viśeṣas* (*ananta-viśeṣātṃukam*). (It must be remembered that *viśeṣas* are not themselves qualities. They are the substance itself and stand for its wonderful capacity for internal distinction.)

Since God engages in activity, it may be asked whether he has a form, or body. He has no gross, or material, form, for such a form would be an imperfection, matter being subject to change. Existence (*sat*), consciousness (*cit*), and bliss (*ananda*) alone constitute his form, or body.

Dvaita is a monotheism: it believes in only one supreme God. But the one God manifests himself as he likes in different forms according to the different roles he plays. As the transcendent (*Para*), he rules everything from without. As one who is reflected as the souls (*Bimba-rūpa*), he is the immanent principle who guides everything. (The *Bimba-rūpa* in Dvaita corresponds to the *Antaryāmin* in *Vśiṣṭādvaita*.) The functions of redemption of souls, and creation, sustentation, and dissolution of the world are fulfilled in the four forms called *vyūhas*, namely *Vāsudeva*, *Pradyumna*, *Aniruddha*, and *Samkarṣaṇa*, respectively. The supreme being further assumes visible forms called *avatāras* to perform specific functions in the world. In none of these manifestations is God invested with a material vesture. Again, there is no gradation among the forms in respect of their powers. Unlike *Rāmānuja*, *Madhva* does not regard images, or idols, (*archavatāra*) as manifestations of God.

The Dvaita philosopher is totally opposed to the concept of *nirguṇa* Brahman in Advaita on two grounds.

(1) *On qualities.* According to the Dvaitin, the *nirguṇa* Brahman of Advaita is Brahman bereft of qualities. There cannot be a substance without qualities. Hence the concept of *nirguṇa* Brahman is an unreal abstraction, says the Dvaitin. Brahman can only be *saguṇa*, i. e. with attributes. The possibility of Brahman being without attributes (*nirguṇa*) has been elaborately contested by Dvaita writers both on the basis of logic and scriptural evidence.

Confining ourselves to scriptural evidence, it has been shown in the first instance that there are a number of texts in the Upaniṣads which reveal that Brahman is possessed of attributes (*saguṇa*). For example, the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (III, 1, 7.) speaks of him as 'great and self-effulgent' and so on and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III, 14, 4.) as 'endowed with creative activity, pure desires', etc. The idea of Brahman with attributes is also

supported by *smṛti* texts. The Dvaitin shows that in contrast to all these, there is only one Upaniṣadic text which explicitly mentions the term '*nirguṇa*', namely the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad passage VI, 11. But the term '*nirguṇa*' as used here does not mean that Brahman is 'without any attribute whatsoever', for the same passage mentions several attributes of Brahman such as 'being one', 'hidden in all', 'all-pervading', 'the inner self of all', and 'the controller of all actions'. Hence what the term '*nirguṇa*' here means is that Brahman is free from all empirical attributes (*prakṛta guṇa*), i. e. qualities that are caused by the three products of *prakṛti*, namely *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. And the absence of empirical attributes in Brahman implies that his attributes are trans-empirical, or divine.

From the point of view of Advaita, it may be stated that the Dvaita criticism of the concept of *nirguṇa* Brahman is based on a misconception. In the words of Prof. Hiriyanna, 'what is meant by speaking of Brahman as featureless is that it transcends the distinction between substance and attribute, and not that it is a substance bereft of attributes'. The Advaitin quite agrees that there can be no substance without attributes. Hence the term '*nirguṇa*' as used by the Advaitin rejects not only the idea of attributes in Brahman, but also the idea of substance.

(2) *On knowability.* According to Advaita, Brahman as it is cannot be known. All knowledge implies the distinction between subject and object. But Brahman is not an object in relation to the *jīva* regarded as the subject, for the *jīva* in its real nature is not other than Brahman. The moment Brahman is made an object of thought it becomes distinct from the subject and therefore it is not Brahman in its real nature. It is only *saguṇa* Brahman, or *Īśvara*, also called *jñeya* Brahman. Thus Brahman as it really is is unknowable. The Dvaitin's reaction to this view is that if Brahman is, according to Advaita, unknowable, Advaita is no different from Buddhistic agnosticism. The Dvaitin contends that Brahman is not beyond the reach of thought. Each of the *jīvas* can know Brahman as far as it lies in its power to do so. But since God's attributes are not of the ordinary kind, they cannot be fully comprehended by our limited intellect even with the aid of revelation. In conveying God's trans-empirical qualities to us

scripture has necessarily to employ analogies with empirical qualities. These analogies are intended to give us some idea of the nature of God, which cannot be fully represented in empirical terminology. Thus God is 'apprehensible but not comprehensible', knowable but not fully.

The Advaitin's reply to the charge of agnosticism is that although Brahman cannot be known by the mind, its existence cannot be doubted. Being identical with the true self of man, it can be realized, or experienced.

3. God's activities: God in relation to the world and souls

In his commentary on the Brahma-sūtra Madhva enumerates the activities of the Lord as eight. They are creation (*srṣṭi*), sustentation (*sthiti*), dissolution (*samhāra*), control (*niyamana*), obscuration (*ajñāna*), enlightenment (*jñāna*), bondage (*bandha*), and liberation (*mokṣa*). Of these the first four concern God's relation to the world and the remaining four his relation to the souls.

God and the world

In the Epics and Purāṇas we find the three activities of creation, sustentation, and dissolution popularly ascribed to the three members of the Hindu trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, respectively. Madhva does not accord equal status to all the three gods. The one supreme God is Viṣṇu. He works through the instrumentality of the other gods who are subordinate to him. Thus Dvaita philosophy is strictly monotheistic.

In the act of creating the world God is only the efficient cause (*nimitta karaṇa*) according to Dvaita. In some other schools of Vedānta God is also the material cause (*upādāna karaṇa*) of the world. The Dvaitin feels that such an idea would detract from the supremacy of God, for it would render God subject to change (*pariṇāma*). Moreover, it goes against scripture which says that Brahman is above all modifications. There are of course certain passages in the Upaniṣads which suggest that Brahman is the material cause in addition to being the efficient cause. For example, in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (I, 1, 7.) the creative activity

of God is compared to the spider weaving its web out of itself and so on. But Jayatirtha is of the opinion that such passages only intend to suggest that *prakṛti* which is the material cause of the world is ultimately dependent on Brahman. The desire of Brahman to create the world produces a stir in the latent *prakṛti* and sets in motion the process of creation. Thus God is only the efficient cause of the world. Having sustained the world for its due period, Brahman resolves it into primordial matter.

Besides these three functions of creation, sustentation, and dissolution of the world, Brahman is also the agent of its control, or regulation. The laws of nature, which work with unerring uniformity, indicate the control of an intelligent being behind them, because insentient matter is incapable of self-regulation. That intelligent being cannot be any of the *jīvas*, for the complexity and magnitude of the laws require an omniscient controller who is no other than God.

God and souls

In respect of the soul God reveals his greatness in a two-fold way. He is responsible for the soul's ignorance and bondage on the one hand and for its knowledge and liberation on the other.

Ignorance is the immediate cause of the soul's bondage and its attendant misery. But ignorance is caused by the Lord's mysterious power called *māyā*, which veils the inherent knowledge of the soul. But this does not mean that God is not benevolent. He is equally the agent of the soul's enlightenment and release. When the soul worships the Lord, the Lord gives it knowledge about himself. The knowledge of the Lord qualifies the devotee to receive his grace also. As the result of God's grace, the enlightened devotee attains liberation.

God and māyā

A word must be said about the concept of *māyā* in Dvaita. *Māyā* is real (*sat*) in this system. It is the mysterious power of God (*acintya śakti*). By its aid Brahman creates, sustains, and dissolves the world. Again, by its aid Brahman causes deception, or ignorance, in the souls. This conception of *māyā* is dia-

metrically opposed to the conception of *māyā* which we find in Advaita. In Advaita, *māyā* is neither real nor unreal (*sad-asad-vilakṣaṇa*) and therefore indescribable (*anirvacanīya*). It does not belong to Brahman, but stands between reality as it is and reality as it appears. It is responsible for *nirguṇa* Brahman appearing as *Īśvara*, the souls, and the world. Madhva's main objections against the Advaita conception of *māyā* relate to (1) its status and (2) its connection with Brahman. To describe anything as neither real nor unreal is a violation of the Law of Excluded Middle. There is no middle ground, according to Madhva, between the real and the unreal. As to the connection of *māyā* with Brahman, the Advaitin's explanation is that because *māyā* is not real, it is futile to enquire into its relation with Brahman. The Dvaitin considers this explanation evasive.

4. God as the object of worship

The idea of a supreme personal God regarded as the creator and controller of the world and as the guide and redeemer of the souls fills a distinct psychological need. The individual soul in discontent with its own finiteness turns towards the Infinite and Perfect not only in thought, but in feeling as well. Hence the conception of the Infinite must not merely be logically satisfactory, but also psychologically satisfying. That the Infinite may allow for the feeling of kinship in the soul it must be conceived in the image of the soul. That it may command adoration it must not only be different from the soul, but also enjoy absolute supremacy. And that it may infuse hope of deliverance it must be full of grace. All these requirements are fulfilled in the Dvaita conception of Brahman. Such a conception is needed not only for religion as we ordinarily understand it, but also for ethics. Without belief in a personal God regarded as the dispenser of moral justice there will be no incentive for good conduct.

It may be remembered that the philosophy of Dvaita arose as a reaction against Advaita. Apart from logical objections, Madhva felt that Saṅkara's concept of *nirguṇa* Brahman did not provide for and was even detrimental to the needs of religion and ethics. There was no doubt that Rāmānuja's Viśiṣṭādvaita sought to be a corrective to Advaita in these respects. But Madhva felt that Rāmānuja's conception of the relation of the

world and souls to Brahman was sacrilegious. The intimate relationship of *apṛthak-siddhi* of the world and souls, characterized as they are by their own imperfections, to Brahman, who is perfect, was so felt Madhva — a parody on the idea of a supreme being. The needs of theistic philosophy are fully met, according to Madhva, only by recognizing the absolute difference of Brahman from the world and souls.

TOPIC V. THE CONCEPT OF THE SOUL (*jīva*)

A. THE NATURE OF THE SOUL

1. *The soul's difference from God and matter*

Matter (*prakṛti*) has existence (*sat*) but not consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*). It is insentient substance (*acetana dravya*). Both God (Brahman) and the soul (*jīva*) have consciousness and bliss in addition to existence. Thus the soul is different from matter and similar to God. It is of the same class as Brahman, namely sentient substance (*śetana dravya*). But the *jīva* is similar to Brahman only in kind, and not in degree. The existence, consciousness, and bliss of the *jīva* have their counterparts in Brahman. But while Brahman's existence, consciousness, and bliss are infinite, the *jīva*'s existence, consciousness, and bliss are only finite. Brahman's existence pervades all time and space, his knowledge encompasses everything, and his bliss is inexhaustible and untainted. The *jīva*'s existence, consciousness, and bliss are a striking contrast to these.

The *jīva* is eternal; it is uncreated and is not subject to destruction. Unless the *jīva* is believed to exist for ever, it would be impossible to justify its desire for release. But the *jīva*'s existence has only temporal pervasion. Its existence is limited in space for the following reasons. The *jīva* has a form (*ākāra*). Just as the lamp flame has a form, the *jīva* has a form constituted of bliss and consciousness. Endowed with this form, it occupies subtle and gross bodies which are products of matter,

or *prakṛti*. Moreover, the *jīva* has only atomic size (*anu-parimāṇa*) and not all-pervasive dimension (*vibhu-parimāṇa*), for on this supposition alone can the process of transmigration described in scripture be explained. Again, the knowledge possessed by the *jīva* has its own limits. In the state of bondage even this knowledge is covered by ignorance. Thirdly, although bliss is intrinsic to the *jīva*, it is commensurate with its limited consciousness. In the state of bondage the natural bliss of the soul is mixed up with a lot of pain.

2. *Existence, consciousness, and bliss as essential attributes of the self*

According to Advaita, existence, consciousness, and bliss are not attributes of the *jīva*, but are themselves what the *jīva* is in its real nature. But according to Dvaita, they are not what the *jīva* is, but what the *jīva* has. That is to say they are attributes of the *jīva*. This does not mean that existence, consciousness, and bliss are acquired by the *jīva*. They are essential attributes of the self and are inseparable from the nature of the *jīva*. Without them the *jīva* would not be the *jīva*. But though existence, consciousness, and bliss are inseparable from the *jīva*, they can be distinguished from the soul-substance by means of the unique faculty called *viśeṣa*.

3. *The self as the knower, doer, and enjoyer*

In common life the *jīva* is looked upon as the subject of knowledge (*jñātā*), as the agent of action (*kartā*), and as the enjoyer of the fruit of action (*bhoktā*). These designations are not real according to Advaita, but they are real according to Dvaita.

According to Advaita, Brahman is above all distinctions, such as subject and object, agent and action, and enjoyer and enjoyed. Since the *jīva* in its real nature is not different from Brahman, it is not really a subject of knowledge, an agent of action, and an enjoyer of the results of action. These designations are false superimpositions on the self. The Dvaita position is a striking contrast to this. According to Dvaita, differences are real and

ultimate. Hence the difference between subject and object, between agent and action, and between enjoyer and thing enjoyed cannot be dismissed as unreal. Hence the *jīva* is really a subject of knowledge (*jñātā*), an agent of action (*kartā*), and an enjoyer of the fruit of action (*bhoktā*). These characteristics are present in the soul even in the state of release.

The position of the self as the subject of knowledge, i. e. as the knower, is basic to its position as doer and enjoyer because action and enjoyment presuppose the knowledge of the action and of the objects enjoyed. That the self is a knower is indicated by the expression 'I' (*aham*) in any statement such as 'I know this'. The Advaitin cites the case of deep sleep to show that the knowership of the self is not its real nature. In deep sleep, when no objects are known, the notion that one is the knower also disappears. But the Dvaitin replies that the knowership of the self is dormant in the state of sleep for want of objects, but is not absent. This is evident from the fact that when a man wakes up from sleep, he exclaims '*I slept happily.*'

4. *Can the self know itself?*

The self knows objects other than itself. But can the self know itself? In other words, can the self be an object of its own knowledge? According to Advaita, this is impossible, on the principle that what knows must be other than what is known. Just as the eye cannot see itself, just as the finger's end cannot touch itself, one and the same entity cannot be the subject as well as the object of knowledge. It is true that language permits the usage 'I know myself'. But what the term 'myself' in this statement stands for is not the self, but the knowable elements such as the body and mind, with which the self happens to be associated through ignorance. Hence, according to Advaita, the self cannot know itself in the same way as it knows other objects. This does not mean that the self is insentient with reference to itself, for it reveals itself as the subject in every cognition, whose existence cannot be denied. Thus the self is self-luminous (*sva-prakāśa*).

The Dvaitin argues that the contention of Advaita that the self cannot know itself as an object would reduce the self to

a non-sentient being like a pot. According to the Dvaitin, the common expression 'I know myself' is sufficient evidence to show that the self knows itself. The statement does not refer to the body, but to the self. It is possible for one and the same self to be both the subject and the object because of the presence of that peculiar power called *viśeṣa*. By virtue of its *viśeṣas* the self makes a distinction between itself as the subject and itself as the object. And thus self-knowledge becomes possible. This is self-luminosity (*sva-prakāśatva*) as interpreted by Madhva.

5. Definition of *jīva*

The definition given by Jayatīrtha in his *Nyāya-sūdhā* sums up the nature of the *jīva*. The *jīva* is 'that which is endowed with the powers of agency and enjoyership, which possesses a form but is different from the physical body and so on, and which is revealed as the "I" (or subject of knowledge) by the witnessing consciousness'. (*kartṛtva-bhokṛtva-śaktyupetaṁ sakaram dehadvyatiriktam rūpaṁ ahaṁ iti sākṣi-siddham.*)

B. THE SOUL'S RELATION TO GOD

The soul is vastly different from God in the degree of its attributes. This does not mean that the soul is in no connection with God. The relation which the soul bears to God could be summed up in two words—similarity (*sādrśya*) and dependence (*adhinatva*). The soul is similar to God in the possession of consciousness and bliss in addition to existence. It is also entirely dependent on God in its three aspects of being, knowing, and acting.

The similarity and the dependence referred to are not unrelated concepts. The similarity of the soul with Brahman has itself to be explained in terms of its dependence on Brahman, for Brahman is the source of the points of similarity, namely the existence, consciousness, and bliss, possessed by the soul. Thus dependence is the basic idea in the relation of the *jīva* to Brahman. The *jīva* is in a state of dependence on Brahman at all times—both in bondage and in release. The dependence is most evident in the pre-natal and post-mortem conditions as well as in the state

of dissolution of the world (*pralaya*), dreams, deep sleep, and swoon. The *jīva* lies helpless and weak in these conditions. It is only in the state of subsistence in life (*sthiti*) that the *jīva* imagines that it is independent. It is this wrong assumption of independence that characterizes the *jīva*'s bondage and is the cause of all its misery. The attainment of freedom depends on God's grace, and even in the state of release the enjoyment of bliss which characterizes that state depends on the will of God.

To convey the idea of this two-fold relationship between the soul and God, Madhva employs the figure of reflection (*pratibimbātva*). Just as the image, or reflection, (*pratibimba*) is both similar to and dependent on the reflected object (*bimba*), even so the soul is similar to and dependent on God. The relationship between God and soul is therefore called *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva*.

If the analogy of reflection is taken in the literal sense, it is quite likely that the kind of relationship which it is meant to convey will be misunderstood. Hence the Dvaitin takes pains to explain in what sense he employs the figure of reflection. A reflection as we commonly know it, involves a reflecting medium (*upadhi*); for example, the reflection of a human face requires a mirror. The existence of the reflection depends on that of the medium, and therefore the reflection is not permanent. When, for example, the mirror is removed or destroyed, the reflection also disappears. If the idea of reflection in the case of the *jīva* is taken in this conventional and physical sense, i.e. as a reflection in a reflecting medium, the *jīva* would be taken to be impermanent, or non-eternal. It would last only so long as the reflecting medium lasts. It would also be regarded as insentient, just as the reflection of the human face in the mirror is lifeless. To avoid these misconceptions Madhva explains that the *jīva* should be taken to be a special type of reflection where there is no medium (*nirupadhi-pratibimba*). It is not a reflection of the ordinary kind which involves a medium (*sopadhi-pratibimba*). The idea conveyed by the name *nirupadhi-pratibimba*, or reflection without a medium, is that the similarity and dependence which the *jīva* bears to Brahman are essential characteristics (*śvalakṣaṇa*) of the *jīva* and are not conditioned by an extraneous factor. If, however, it be insisted that a non-mediated reflection is

inconceivable and therefore the concept of a medium is necessary, the Dvaitin replies that in that case the *jīva*, which is the reflection, could itself be regarded as the reflecting medium. The *jīva*-reflection is then called *svarūpa-upādhi-pratibimba*, which means that the *jīva* is a reflection through its own nature functioning as the reflecting medium. The *jīva* can act as a reflector because it has consciousness. But if it be asked how the *jīva* can at once be the reflection and the reflecting medium, the answer is that this is made possible through the operation of the *viśeṣas* present in the *jīva*.

The following examples given by Madhva are suggestive of the type of relation between the *jīva* and Brahman described so far. (1) The shadow (*cchaya*) of a man resembles the man and is dependent on him. The dependence is not reciprocal, but unilateral. It is always of the shadow on the substance, and never the other way. In the same manner, the *jīva* resembles Brahman in form, and the dependence is always of the *jīva* on Brahman. (2) The rainbow (*indracāpa*) is caused by the sun's rays falling on tiny drops of rain water in the sky. The rain-drops act as the medium for receiving the sun's rays and at the same time constitute the form of the rainbow. The example is employed to suggest how the *jīva* is a reflection of Brahman without requiring any external reflecting medium.

It only remains for us to contrast the Dvaita theory of *bimba-pratibimba* with the theory that goes by the same name in Advaita. In order to explain the relation between *Īśvara* and the *jīva*, Śaṅkara employs two types of analogies. (a) *Īśvara* is compared to the universal space and *jīvas* to the space enclosed in pots, jugs, etc. This mode of explanation has come to be known as *avaccheda-vāda*. (b) *Īśvara* is compared to the sun and the *jīvas* to the reflections of the sun in different shining surfaces. This has come to be known as *pratibimba-vāda*. The two modes of explanation have been elaborated by the two schools of post-Śaṅkara Advaitins, namely the Bhāmati and the Vivaraṇa, respectively. We are now concerned only with *pratibimba-vāda*, worked out by the Vivaraṇa school.

The purpose of the Advaitin in comparing *Īśvara* to the sun and the *jīva* to its reflection is to show that in essence there is no

difference between what is called *Īśvara* and what is called *jīva*. There are three factors involved in the process of reflection, the object reflected (*bimba*), the reflection (*pratibimba*), and the reflecting medium (*upadhi*). If *Īśvara* is the object reflected, the *jīva* is the reflection, and *avidyā* together with its product, the *buddhi*, constitutes the reflecting medium. When the reflecting medium disappears, the distinction between the object reflected and the reflection also vanishes. Thus, when *avidyā* with its product disappears through knowledge, the distinction between *Īśvara* and the *jīva* also goes and the essential nature of both, namely pure consciousness, remains as the one undivided reality.

In contrast to this, the purpose of Dvaita in proposing that the *jīva* is the reflection of *Īśvara* is to show that it is essentially different from *Īśvara* while being similar to and dependent upon the latter. Madhva was convinced that the analogy of reflection would serve this purpose only if the idea of a reflecting medium (*upadhi*) is ruled out. Hence for him the *jīva* is a reflection of *Īśvara* without the intervention of a reflecting medium (*nirupadhi-pratibimba*). If the idea of a reflecting medium should at all be provided for, the *jīva* itself should be regarded as the medium in addition to being the reflection (*sopadhi-pratibimba*). In any case the idea of a reflecting medium extraneous to the reflection (*bahya-upadhi*) is completely ruled out from the Dvaita theory of reflectiveness. Hence, while in Advaita the distinction between *jīva* and *Īśvara* is false and exists only in the state of bondage, i. e. so long as *avidyā* persists, and not in the state of *mokṣa*, in Dvaita the distinction is real and permanent and does not disappear even in the state of release. It is in conformity with this basic position that Madhva interprets those passages in the Upaniṣads that identify the soul with Brahman. Thus the statement 'That thou art' (*tat tvam asi*) is interpreted by Madhva to mean that the individual soul is similar to Brahman (*tvam tadyoḥ asi*) or that it belongs to Brahman in the sense that it depends on Brahman (*tvam tasya asi*).

In conclusion, it may be said that in Dvaita the relation called *bimba-pratibimba-bhāva* implies that the *jīva* is different from Brahman, but not isolated from it, and that it is similar to and dependent on Brahman, but not identical with it.

C. THE BONDAGE AND RELEASE OF THE SOUL

In its real nature the soul possesses unalloyed bliss (*ānanda*). The bliss is fully revealed in the state of release (*mokṣa*). When the soul experiences misery (*duḥkha*), it is said to be in bondage (*bandha*). The misery experienced by the soul, its bondage, is *real*, but it does not belong to the nature of the *jīva*. It comes from outside.

What is the cause of misery, or bondage? The immediate cause of misery is the soul's ignorance (*avidyā*, or *ajñāna*). The soul is ignorant about its relation to God. Brahman is the only independent reality. The *jīva* is dependent on Brahman for its existence, knowledge, and activity. It is ignorance of this truth that leads to bondage. Hence the Dvaita theory of bondage is called *svabhāva-ajñāna-vāda*—the theory that bondage is due to the soul's ignorance of its true nature as a being entirely dependent on the one independent reality, namely Brahman.

How does *avidyā* bring about bondage? The soul in its ignorance forgets that all its powers such as knowership (*jñātrtva*), agency (*kartṛtva*), and enjoyership (*bhoktrtva*) are derived from God and imagines that they are self-derived. It looks upon them as its own possessions and as under its own control. This wrong sense of independence, or self-conceit (*abhimāna*), leads to a shrinking of personality and an identification with a physical body. Thus the soul becomes subject to the miseries associated with an embodied state.

Ignorance has two aspects—*jīvacchāḍika* and *paramacchāḍika*. That is to say, on the one hand, ignorance conceals the nature of the *jīva* as a dependent and, on the other, it conceals the nature of Paramātmān, or God, as the only independent.

How does the self which is said to be self-luminous or self-knowing, come to be ignorant? The only answer that is possible is that God himself is responsible for the soul's ignorance. The power to obscure the self-revealing nature of the self is vested in the all-powerful Lord. He dupes the soul through his mysterious power called *māyā*. Thus, by causing ignorance, God is the ultimate cause of our bondage. This does not mean that God

threw us into ignorance at a particular point of time. What is meant by describing God as the cause of ignorance is only that the association of ignorance with us is a matter of his pleasure and will. In this sense, ignorance and its effect, bondage, are said to be beginningless.

It may appear from the above that God is despotic. But no, He is so full of grace (*prasāda*) that while he causes bondage, he provides for release also. If his *māyā* induces bondage, his grace ensures release. But the soul must qualify for God's grace under conditions of bondage. The physical world is created by God not only as a realm of bondage for the souls, but also as a field for their training for release. He has no purpose in creating the world save that of helping the souls to work out their destinies. Since ignorance (*ajñāna*) of the soul's dependence on God is the cause of bondage, knowledge (*jñāna*) of its dependence on God is an essential condition for release. Through the practice of *karma* and *bhakti* the soul purifies itself and receives the gift of knowledge. Knowledge qualifies the soul for the grace of the Lord, which alone leads to release. God is thus the ultimate cause of both bondage and release, and his will in the matter is not open to question.

Some points of the contrast of Dvaita with Advaita on the subject may now be noted.

(1) The terms 'bondage' and 'release' have reference to the individual soul (*jīva*). In Advaita the notion of the individual soul as an entity apart from Brahman is non-real, since Brahman is the only reality. Hence the soul's 'bondage' and 'release' are also not real. In Dvaita the individual soul is a real entity existing apart from Brahman. Hence its bondage and release are also real.

(2) To the Advaitin, the real is eternal. It is not negated in any of the three divisions of time, past, present, and future. Hence the Advaitin argues that if bondage is real, as the Dvaitin holds, it cannot be ended at any time. Thus the soul will remain bound for ever, and release will be impossible. To this the Dvaitin replies that what is real need not be eternal. Even a thing that has a limited existence could be real. Hence there is no incom.

patibility in that bondage is real and at the same time has an end.

(3) According to both Advaita and Dvaita, ignorance is the cause of bondage, but the status and content of ignorance differs in the two schools. In Advaita, ignorance is not real, and it relates to the soul's identity with Brahman. In Dvaita, ignorance is real, and it is about the soul's dependence on Brahman.

(4) The Dvaitin has raised objections against Advaita in regard to the locus of *avidyā*. To whom, according to Advaita, does *avidyā* belong?—asks the Dvaitin. It cannot belong to the *jīva* because the *jīva* is itself a product of *avidyā*. It cannot belong to Brahman because it is pure consciousness. To dismiss the question as inadmissible on the ground that *avidyā* itself is non-real is to evade it. But in the Dvaita conception of *avidyā* there is no impediment to regarding the *jīva* as the locus.

D. THE PLURALITY, CLASSIFICATION, AND GRADATION OF SOULS

According to Advaita the distinction between one *jīva* and another is only apparent because in its real nature the *jīva* is non-different from Brahman, which is the only reality. The appearance of a plurality of selves arises from the false identification of consciousness, which is one and indivisible, with a plurality of material adjuncts, such as the body (*deha*) and mind (*manas*, or *antaḥkaraṇa*). Hence the plurality of souls is merely an empirical fact, a result of ignorance, and is not ultimately real.

This position has been seriously contested by the Dvaitin. According to him, it is wrong to dismiss the idea of many souls as an illusion presented temporarily through ignorance. The Dvaitin advances his own arguments to establish that the plurality of souls is real and eternal.

Each soul is a distinct centre of consciousness. This is evident from the fact that the experience of each individual soul is special to that individual. One soul may have an experience similar to that of another soul, but not the same experience which the

latter has. Since experience cannot be shared by two souls, the souls are different entities. Madhya asks why, if the basic reality of all souls be the same, namely pure consciousness, as the Advaitin claims, is it that the experience of one soul is not shared by others? Hence it is certain that there are many jīvas.

It may now be asked whether the numerous jīvas are all alike or different. It is commonly observed that the endowments, or powers, of individual jīvas are not all alike and that there is also a wide range of pleasure and pain undergone by different souls. How are these glaring inequalities in life to be explained?

The usual explanation given by all other schools of Indian philosophy is in terms of the law of *karma*. Souls differ in their capacities and experiences according to the nature of the actions (*karma*) performed in previous lives. The merit (*punya*) and demerit (*pāpa*) acquired by those actions manifest themselves in the inequalities found in life. Madhva thinks that the explanation is right so far as it goes, but is incomplete. The reason is that the actions performed earlier and whose results are manifested in this life themselves demand an explanation. What led the individual to prefer a particular action to another? It is no use trying to explain this also in terms of the *karma* theory. It is usually said that an action is performed under the influence of tendencies (*vāsanā*) produced by earlier actions. This mode of explaining one set of actions by a previous set of actions will only lead to infinite regress. Hence Madhva's solution to the problem of moral choice is to attribute it to the essential nature (*svabhāva*, or *svarūpa*) of the souls. Each soul has its own special personality which belongs to it permanently, and it is this that explains why different souls choose to act in different ways, thus inviting upon themselves different types of results. Thus the differences in the capacities and experiences of the souls are ultimately traceable to the differences in the character of the souls themselves—to their *svarūpa-bheda*. We thus find that, according to Madhva, souls are different not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. They are not only many, but of many kinds also.

On the basis of their intrinsic natures souls could be classified under three broad types. This classification is known as *svarūpa-traividhya*. (1) There are some souls whose character is domi-

nated by the quality of *sattva*. It is in their nature to do good. They are therefore fit for release and are called *mukti-yogya*. Celestial beings (*deva*), sages (*ṛṣi*), and spiritually advanced human beings belong to this type. (2) There are some in whom the quality of *rajas* predominates. They are of mixed nature, being neither entirely good nor wholly bad. Hence, though they are not fit for release, they are not condemned to suffering. They are ever within the cycle of birth and death — and hence called *nitya-samsārin*—and experience both pleasure and pain. (3) The third class of souls consisting of demons has as its predominant element the quality of *tamas*. Souls of this type are called *tamo-yogya*. Evil being the law of their lives, they are ever condemned to suffering in hell.

This three-fold classification of souls (*traividhya*) on a permanent basis recognizes that the last two classes have no hope of redemption. Thus Madhva does not subscribe to the ideal of the salvation of all souls (*sarva-mukti*) which is admitted by many other schools of Indian philosophy. The Dvaita idea of *traividhya* has been severely criticized on the ground that by tacitly admitting evil as a permanent feature in the universe, it calls into question the value of effort in the case of the two classes of souls concerned and also the power of divine grace in respect of them. The doctrine of *traividhya*, it has been pointed out, is rather strange in a philosophy that is thoroughly theistic. But the Dvaitin's own justification of this doctrine is that it is based on factual as well as on scriptural evidence.

A close study of human nature clearly reveals that some men are intrinsically good, some intrinsically bad, and the rest are by nature midway between the two. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact of this difference. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that men will change their fundamental natures, since results follow only from like causes. Hence it is idle to expect that everyone has the hope of release. The doctrine of *sarva-mukti*, upheld by others, is based more on sentiment than on reason. Again, the presence of evil in the universe and the impossibility of some attaining release should not be used as arguments to question the grace of God, for God has made the world according to *his* will, not according to our tastes. The doctrine of *traividhya* is again not without justification from scriptural sources. Madhva quotes from *śruti*

and *smṛti* to show that the doctrine is not his invention, but is based on tradition.

An extension of the concept of *traividhya* is the concept of *tāratamya*. This means that even among souls of the highest class (*mukṭi-yogya*) there is an intrinsic gradation according to the degree of their knowledge, power, and bliss. The gradation is evident in the state of release. The concept of *tāratamya* implies that even in the state of release the souls are neither equal to God nor equal among themselves. The idea of their gradation, it is claimed, is suggested by scripture. The unique contribution of Dvaita is the reason that it offers for the gradation. As in the case of bondage, the difference of souls in release cannot be explained in terms of *karma*, but only in terms of their essential character (*svarūpa*). Hence the gradation of souls is described as *svarūpa-tāratamya*.

TOPIC VI. THE CONCEPT OF THE WORLD (jagat)

A. THE STATUS OF THE WORLD

On this question, the position of Dvaita is diametrically opposed to that of Advaita. According to Advaita, the physical world is not real. Brahman alone is real, and the physical world is only the false appearance, or illusory presentation, (*mithyā*) of Brahman. When the reality, namely Brahman, is realized, the world-illusion disappears. The Dvaitin, on the contrary, is emphatic that the world is real. According to Dvaita, the criteria of reality are presentability in valid knowledge (*pramiti-viśayatva*), relation to time and space (*deśa-kāla-sambandhitva*), and practical efficiency (*ārtha-kriyā-kāritva*). Since the nature of the physical world accords with these criteria, the world is real.

Firstly, whatever is known through any of the *pramāṇas* is real. The physical world is presented to perception (*pratyakṣa*), which is a means of valid knowledge. According to Dvaita, all *pramāṇas* give equally valid knowledge in their own spheres, because all of them operate under the unerring principle of *sākṣin*. *Pratyakṣa* is not inferior to *śruti*. It has unquestioned authority in matters sensuous just as *śruti* is the only authority in supra-

sensuous matters. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of *pratyakṣa*. All knowledge is self-valid. Error occurs only through external causes.

As a realist, the Dvaitin even goes to the extent of according a special place to *pratyakṣa* by stipulating that even *śruti* has to be interpreted in a manner consistent with the verdict of *pratyakṣa*. There are texts in the Upaniṣads which describe the evolution of the world. These must be taken to imply the reality of the world, for, if the world were not real, there would be no point in describing its evolution. There are also other texts which appear to identify the soul with Brahman and thereby deny the reality of the world, for example the principal text 'That thou art' (*tat tvam asi*). These, according to Madhva, must be taken only in a figurative sense, in which case they will not conflict with the verdict of *pratyakṣa*, namely of a material world of diverse objects. Thus, by being the object of perceptual knowledge, the world is real.

Secondly, according to the Dvaitin, whatever is connected with time and space, even if it be for a limited measure, must be granted to be real. Reality need not be eternal and all-pervasive. Even that which exists for a limited time and in a limited space is real. It is only that which is not at all connected with time and space, for example the 'hare's horn', that is unreal. The objects of the physical world are no doubt impermanent and particular, but this does not take away from their reality. The world as a whole, moreover, is eternal, because, despite changes, matter as such persists.

Thirdly, the real is characterized by practical efficiency. The unreal, for example the illusory silver, is of no use whatsoever. But the world of objects presented to perception and existing in time and space is the field of all our activities. Hence it must be granted to be real. If the world were not real, there would be no place for ethics and the entire *karma-kāṇḍa* of the Veda would have no meaning.

Thus the Dvaitin establishes the reality of the world. The main grounds on which the Dvaitin has contested the Advaita theory of the illusoriness of the world are the following.

1. That the world is illusory cannot be established through inference, for, in matters open to sense perception, inference depends for its *vyapti* on perception. But perception reveals a real world. Inference cannot call into question the ground on which it stands.

2. The illusoriness of the world cannot be established by means of scripture. The Advaitin divides the *śruti* texts into two classes. Texts which speak of the creation etc. of the world on the supposition that the world is real speak only from the common-sense point of view. They are only of relative validity. They are superseded by other texts which from a higher, or philosophical, point of view speak of Brahman as the one reality without a second. They are of absolute validity. Thus, ultimately, scripture is said to teach the non-reality of the world. The Dvaitin argues that this bifurcation of the texts of the Upaniṣads into those of relative and those of absolute validity is not justified. The Upaniṣads stand for one teaching of uniform validity, and this teaching does not do violence to the validity of sensory experience.

3. The criterion by which the Advaitin dismisses the reality of the world is incoherency (*abādhitatva*). The world is not real because the world-experience, which is the experience of diversity, is negated by the experience of the non-dual Brahman. The Dvaitin objects to the use of such a criterion, for, whereas the world is a known fact, Brahman is yet to be known, and we cannot judge a known fact by something yet to be known.

4. The Advaitin argues that the world is non-real because it resembles dream, magic, and illusion. Each of these comparisons has been criticized by the Dvaitin.

(a) The comparison with dream does not serve the purpose for which it is intended, for, argues the Dvaitin, dream is real. The objects perceived in dream are real, for they are actually perceived and have their own limited space-time setting in the mind. The dream objects are created by God in the mind of the dreamer out of the person's mental impressions (*vāsanā*) and for the benefit of the person. The only element of unreality is that the dream-objects are mistaken for external objects during the dream. They are

not unreal as objects of knowledge. Thus the world cannot be called unreal by being compared to dream.

(b) The world cannot be called a magical show of Īśvara, for, whereas a magician does not witness his own show, God always witnesses the world.

(c) The world cannot be compared to an illusion, like shell-silver. An illusion presupposes the existence of a real prototype, for example the real silver. Hence, if the world is an illusion, there must be another world with which this world agrees and which must be real. Thus, if the Advaitin is keen on showing the world to be an illusion, he would have to admit the reality of the hypothetical prototype world. Why not, then, admit that this world which we perceive is itself real?

5. The world, says the Advaitin, cannot be real because we cannot explain how exactly it is related to the consciousness which perceives it. None of the known categories of relationship like conjunction (*saṃyoga*) and inherence (*samavāya*) serves to explain the relation between the cognizing consciousness (*dṛk*) and the cognized object (*dṛśya*), namely the world. But the Dvaitin replies that the failure to explain the relation (which is due to limitations in thought and language) is no justification for denying the reality of one of the relata.

B. THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

What is the origin of the world? There are two main theories among the schools of Vedānta, *Brahma-vivarta-vāda* and *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda*. Madhva does not accept either of them.

Criticism of Brahma-vivarta-vāda

According to Advaita, there is no creation as such of the world, for the world is illusory. Brahman merely appears as the world due to *avidyā*, or ignorance. This explanation of the 'origin' of the world is called *Brahma-vivarta-vāda*. (*vivarta* = illusory appearance). The main points of the Dvaitin's criticism of this theory are briefly as follows. (1) This is no theory of the origin of the world, since the idea of its origin should imply the reality

of the world. (2) There is difficulty in explaining how the real nature of Brahman comes to be obscured by *avidyā* with the result that it appears as the world.

Criticism of Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda

According to all schools of Vedānta other than Advaita, the origin of the world is a real process, as the world, according to all of them, is real. The creation of the world implies two types of causes. It is recognized in common by these schools that matter (*prakṛti*) is the material cause (*upādāna kārana*) of the world and Brahman is the efficient cause (*nimitta kārana*). The point of departure between Dvaita and the other schools of Vedānta which believe in real creation is the relation between Brahman and matter.

According to schools like Viśiṣṭādvaita, matter (along with souls) is so intimately related with Brahman that there is no actual separation of the material cause from the efficient cause. Brahman, who is the efficient cause, thus comes to be regarded as the material cause as well. He is the *abhinna-nimitta-upādāna-kārana*: the one who is non-different as the efficient and material cause. Brahman is said to evolve the world out of himself. This theory is known as *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda*.

Madhva is opposed to *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda* for the central reason that, in whatever way the theory is sought to be defended, it impairs the concept of Brahman as the supreme being taught in the Upaniṣads.

(1) What was the inducement for Brahman to evolve the world? The inducement could not have come from anything other than Brahman, for, on the one hand, the theory assumes that Brahman alone existed in the beginning and, on the other, an external inducement would reduce Brahman to a position of dependence. Nor could Brahman have evolved the world of his own accord, for it would be inconsistent with the perfection of Brahman to assume that he chose to become a world so full of evil.

(2) Did a part of Brahman or Brahman as a whole become the world? The change (*pariṇāma*) could not have been partial,

because Brahman is admitted by all the Vedāntins to be partless and indivisible. But, if the change be regarded as total, there would be no Brahman during the tenure of the world who could be sought after and known by the jīvas for their *mokṣa*.

(3) Apart from these logical difficulties, there are many texts in the Upaniṣads which clearly deny any kind of modification in Brahman by describing him as '*nirvikara*' (changeless), '*akṣara*' (imperishable), '*śuddha*' (pure), and so on. The Upaniṣads also clearly demarcate matter, which is insentient (*acit*), from Brahman, who is sentient (*cit*), and so it is unreasonable to suppose that the inert world could have evolved from Brahman.

The Dvaita theory of creation

For the reasons stated above, Madhva is firmly against attributing material causality to Brahman. Brahman should be regarded purely as the efficient cause of the world (*kevala nimitta-karaṇa*) and *prakṛti*, which is the material cause, as totally separate from Brahman. Thus the Dvaita theory of creation is unique among those of the Vedānta schools. It alone makes a clear demarcation between the efficient and the material causes of the world. In this respect, it roughly resembles the theory of creation held by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school. But there are important points of difference between the two.

In the first place, while the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika traces the physical world to an indefinite number of atoms (*paramāṇu*), whose combination gives rise to the world, according to Dvaita, the material cause is represented by a single source, namely *prakṛti*. A more important difference is that the atoms of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika are virtually independent of God in the production of the world. God is required only to initiate the process of production. But here, in Dvaita, the material cause, namely matter, is at every stage of its development dependent on God. Though God and matter are separate, God's control over matter is continuous and permanent, and thus every change in matter is induced by the will of God. This position is understandable when we remember that, in Dvaita, Brahman is not only transcendent to the world, but also immanent in it.

Another important difference is that in consonance with its theory of causation, viz. *asat-kārya-vāda*, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika regards the world as a new product altogether. But, in Dvaita, the world of diverse objects is not substantially different from its material cause. It is matter itself which has evolved into the world. The transformation takes place through the acquisition (*āpti*) of new distinctions, or aspects, (*viśeṣa*) in the original homogeneous, unmanifest matter. Thus matter evolves from subtle to gross forms. Now, it is the production of these new aspects that is dependent (*adhīna*) on God, who is the other (the efficient) cause of the world-process. Hence the Dvaita theory of creation is called *parādhīna-viśeṣāpti*, which literally means 'the acquisition of (new) aspects that is dependent on the other (God)'.

SECTION FOUR: PRACTICAL TEACHING

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Religion, in the broader sense of the term, is man's quest for freedom from all the limitations that life on earth represents. The origin of the quest is man's dissatisfaction with life. The nature of the quest consists in the practice of certain disciplines which, it is believed, will lead to liberation. Thus faith and practice are the hall-marks of religion. In some forms of religion the faith in the possibility of freedom and in the efficacy of the means thereto centres round faith in a supreme being as the dispenser of freedom, while there are also other forms of religion which do not involve the idea of a supreme being.

Philosophy is the inquiry into the nature of the ultimate reality and man's relation with it. By itself it is an intellectual quest unlike religion, which is concerned with practice. But the urge for philosophy is often the same as that of religion, namely the dissatisfaction with life. Therefore it is but natural that philosophy should be directed towards the same goal as religion, namely liberation from the bonds of misery. Intellectual apprehension of reality—whatever it is—would not be worth the trouble if it did not also enable man to have some insight into the nature of the goal for which he yearns and the means he is to adopt to secure that goal. When philosophical inquiry, instead

of being an end in itself, subserves the goal of liberation, it becomes an aid to religion, clarifying for the sake of religion the true source of that freedom and the path to its realization. This has been the character and function of philosophy in India. No school of Indian philosophy is satisfied with an academic discussion on the nature of reality, but is vitally concerned with the significance of the knowledge gained to man's liberation from bondage. Liberation (*mokṣa*) is regarded as the ultimate fruit (*phala*) of philosophical inquiry, which therefore passes on from epistemology and metaphysics to a consideration of that practical teaching which forms the subject-matter of religion proper. This practical aspect of philosophy is worked out in every school in two sections—an inquiry into the means to be adopted for attaining *mokṣa* (*sādhana-vicāra*) and an inquiry into the nature of *mokṣa* itself (*phala-vicāra*).

We may now pass on to a study of the conception of *mokṣa* and its means in the philosophy of Dvaita.

TOPIC I. THE MEANS TO RELEASE (*sādhana*)

A. GRACE (*PRASĀDA*)—THE ULTIMATE CAUSE OF RELEASE

Brahman is the ultimate cause of the jīva's bondage (*bandha*). By his mysterious power called *māyā* he causes the soul to be ignorant of its true relation to God and thus causes bondage. Hence God alone can grant release (*mokṣa*) from bondage. That aspect of God which causes release is grace (*prasāda*). The soul cannot attain release directly by its own effort. The disciplines laid down for the soul are for earning God's grace in the first instance. The disciplines lead to *mokṣa* only by being instrumental to God's grace.

B. KNOWLEDGE (*JÑĀNA*)—THE PENULTIMATE CAUSE OF RELEASE

The immediate cause of bondage is the soul's ignorance (*avidyā*) of the real nature of Brahman as the one independent

reality on whom it is entirely dependent. Hence, as a condition for release, the soul must acquire knowledge (*jñāna*) of the real nature of God. But it is important to note that knowledge by itself does not remove ignorance. Since the cause of ignorance is God's *māyā*, ignorance can be removed only by God himself withdrawing the power of *māyā* as an act of grace. Hence nothing but God's grace can free the soul from bondage. Knowledge is not the cause of release, but only the qualification for release, which depends on God's grace.

In the conception of ignorance which we find in Advaita, ignorance has no cause, it is non-real, and the bondage which it produces is an illusion. It is removed by the knowledge of Brahman, and with its removal the appearance of bondage also comes to an end. But according to Dvaita, ignorance and bondage, being real and caused by Brahman, cannot be removed by knowledge itself. Thus, in Dvaita, though knowledge occupies an important position among the means to release, it is not the ultimate means, but is only subservient to God's grace.

It may further be mentioned here that even the arising of knowledge as a qualification for release depends on God's grace. By knowledge is here meant, not mediate knowledge (*parokṣa jñāna*) as can be gained from books or other people, but a direct vision of the Lord (*sākṣātkāra*). It is immediate knowledge (*aparokṣa jñāna*). This vision of the Lord cannot be gained by the soul, however much it may try, unless God chooses to reveal himself. Thus knowledge itself is a gift of God, a product of his grace. We shall refer to this more in detail later.

C. THE STEPS LEADING TO KNOWLEDGE

The gift of immediate knowledge (*aparokṣa jñāna*) cannot be received without the soul qualifying itself for it. Hence immediate knowledge presupposes a long course of discipline which prepares the soul for it. The most important element of this course is devotion (*bhakti*): God has to be moved to bestow his grace. We shall now consider the different constituents and stages of this course of discipline.

1. *Vairāgya, or dispassion*

The initial impediment to spiritual progress is passion (*rāga*) for the pleasures of the world, which arises from one's false sense of independence (*abhimāna*). Hence the first step on the path to *mokṣa* is the cultivation of detachment, or dispassion (*vairāgya*). The spirit of detachment comes when one thinks of the sordid aspects of life. In fact this is the significance of the presence of evil in the world — it serves to tone down the soul's attachment to the world and create in it a longing for release. Scripture also helps to induce dispassion by holding up the agony of transmigration.

2. *Mahātmya-jñāna, or the knowledge of the greatness of God*

Dispassion is the negative requirement for the pursuit of *mokṣa*. It is turning away from the world. On the positive side, the soul must turn more and more towards God, as God is the cause and content of release. For this one should acquire knowledge of the greatness of the Lord (*mahātmya-jñāna*) by a wide study of scripture, especially *smṛti*. (The study of scripture at this stage is only preliminary to a systematic study which is to follow at a later stage.)

3. *Bhakti, or devotion*

As one hears about the greatness of Īśvara, devotion (*bhakti*) towards him naturally wells up in the heart. True *bhakti* is unmixed with selfish desires, or worldly motives. Instead of worshipping God as a means to fulfilling one's earthly desires, one must be able to worship him as an end in himself, i. e. for the sake of realizing him. Again, true *bhakti* is not that which manifests itself in occasional spurts and only when there are no impediments to it, but it is that which is a continuous and persistent devotion to God, and which is not shaken by any number of obstacles. Jayatīrtha describes *bhakti* as follows. 'Devotion to God is that unceasing torrent of love which is preceded by the conviction of the presence (in God) of innumerable unending and faultless excellences, the qualities of which are

surpassingly richer than (the love) of our own selves and of all those with which we identify ourselves, and which brooks of no impediments even if they be in thousands.' (*paramēśvara-bhaktir-nama niravadhika-ananta-anavadya-kīlāṇagūṇatva-jñānapūrvakāḥ sva-ātmatmīya-samasta-vastubhyo ananta-guṇādhikāḥ antarāya-sahasreṇa-api-apratibaddhāḥ nirantara-prema-pravāhaḥ*. (*Nyāya-sūdhā*).

The qualities of true *bhakti* are thus purity of motive (*śuddha-bhava*) and one-pointedness (*ekānta-bhāva*). If *bhakti* must acquire these qualities, it must, on the one hand, be freed from worldly motives and, on the other, must be informed by the knowledge of one's true relation to God. The successful practice of *bhakti*, or *bhakti-yoga* as it is named, thus calls for the practice of two other disciplines, one moral and the other intellectual, concurrently with itself.

4. *Niṣkāma karma, or disinterested action*

The object of this discipline is to prepare the moral base for *bhakti*.

Moral discipline implies as its basic condition that one should give up all bad actions and perform only the good. But even good actions have to be performed without any thought of gaining out of them mundane pleasures. Every good action carries with it the possibility of worldly rewards, such as name and fame, power and prosperity. These rewards often take more than one life to be received. Therefore, if a good action is performed with the desire of reaping these rewards, one is bound to be reborn in order to enjoy these rewards. Their enjoyment strengthens the desire for them, and the further pursuit of such rewards takes one through a series of lives. Thus, when actions are performed with desire for their worldly rewards, they perpetuate bondage, which consists in being born again and again.

The solution to this difficulty is not to give up even good actions. Good actions are obligatory, and their non-observance will entail sin, which will result in suffering. Hence the way out of the difficulty is to perform them without desire for worldly rewards, but purely with a view to pleasing God and as a service

to him. While good actions cannot be given up, the desire with which they are usually performed must be substituted by the desire to serve God. Good action performed in a spirit of dedication to God is called *niṣkāma karma* in Dvaita.

Such a reorientation in the path of action requires the intellectual conviction that one's status as the agent and enjoyer in action is a gift of God, and not self-acquired. Thus *karma* must be informed and ennobled by *jñāna*. (Here, by *jñāna* is meant mediate knowledge acquired by study and reflection.) *Niṣkāma karma* is thus enlightened action (*jñāna-pūrvam karma*).

When performed in a spirit of service to God, *karma* ceases to bind the soul and becomes instead a means to release. Hence *niṣkāma karma* is also called *karma-yoga*. The exact way in which *karma-yoga* makes for *mokṣa* is by purifying the mind of all worldly impulses. The purification of the mind (*antaḥkaraṇa-suddhi*) is an essential condition for the practice of *bhakti* as well as for attainment through *bhakti* of the vision of God (*aparokṣa jñāna*). Thus *karma-yoga* is indirectly useful in the path to *mokṣa*.

Unlike Rāmaṇuja, Madhva does not believe that a combination of *karma* and *jñāna* (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*) is possible. The reason is that, according to Madhva, while *jñāna* directly leads to the grace of God which is the cause of release, *karma* leads to that grace only indirectly. By *jñāna* is here meant the immediate knowledge, or vision, of God (*aparokṣa jñāna*). On this being attained, God bestows on the soul that highest grace which grants *mokṣa*. Thus *jñāna* is directly related to grace, the cause of *mokṣa*. But the role of *karma* in this context is only indirect. When *karma* is performed as a service to God, it produces the mental purification necessary for the practice of intense *bhakti*. And this *bhakti* leads to *jñāna* and *jñāna* to grace. Hence *karma* does not act in conjunction with *jñāna*, but only prepares the ground for *jñāna*.

5. *Jñāna-yoga*, or means to knowledge

True *bhakti* is one-pointed devotion to God. The devotee should have no end in view at any time except God's grace. This

is possible only when the devotee has the conviction that God is the only independent reality and that one's true relation to God is that of a reflection (*pratibimba*) to what is reflected (*bimba*). The need for such an intellectual foundation for *bhakti* leads us on to another discipline which consists of three steps, called *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *nididhyāsana*. The three steps are together called *jñāna-yoga*, or *jñāna-sādhana*, because they lead to the immediate knowledge (*aparokṣa jñāna*) of Brahman.

(1) *Śravaṇa*. This is the study, or hearing, of the Veda, or *śruti*, under a competent teacher (*guru*) with a view to grasping its true import. It dispels ignorance about the subject-matter of the *śruti* texts, namely Brahman.

(2) *Manana*. This is deep thinking on what has been studied. It consists in interpreting the *śruti* texts according to accepted canons and logically examining their meaning. This removes doubts (*samśaya*) and misconceptions (*viparyaya*) lurking in the mind and helps the student to arrive at a firm conviction regarding the correct meaning of the *śruti* texts. The process of *manana* also has to be undergone under the guidance of the teacher. Madhva gives to the teacher (*guru*) a place of high reverence in the scheme of disciplines. Without the grace of the teacher neither *śravaṇa* nor *manana* will bear fruit.

(3) *Nididhyāsana* (also called *dhyāna* and *upāsana*). This is steady and continuous meditation on the attributes of *Īśvara*. Study (*śravaṇa*) and excogitation (*manana*) are intended to prepare the ground for *nididhyāsana* by removing the obstacles thereto. *Śravaṇa* removes ignorance relating to *Īśvara* and *manana* doubts and misconceptions regarding him. They thus enable the aspirant to fix his mind exclusively on *Īśvara*. Hence *śravaṇa* and *manana*, which are together called *vicāra*, or inquiry, are regarded as steps (*aṅga*) to *nididhyāsana*. *Śravaṇa* and *manana* give only mediate knowledge (*parokṣa jñāna*) of God. This is knowledge received second-hand from the teacher, the texts, and reasoning. *Nididhyāsana* is intended to convert this mediate knowledge into immediate knowledge (*aparokṣa jñāna*), i.e. direct experience (*sākṣātkāra*), or vision (*darśana*), of God. What is learnt from other sources must become a matter of one's

own experience. This is the importance of *nididhyāsana* in the Dvaita scheme of sādhanas.

Meditation is a difficult process. It involves fixing the ever fickle mind on the chosen object. Hence it presupposes a graded training in the art of concentration. In the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads several exercises in meditation are recommended for the beginner. They involve fixing the mind on various symbols (*pratīka*) of Brahman like the sun, space, mind, and food. Madhva makes use of these exercises and recommends meditation on Brahman as present in these symbols in the first instance. Ultimately the aspirant is to meditate on Brahman as the *bimba*, as that of which the *jīva* is a reflection. This particular meditation is called *bimbopāśana*. Its significance is this. Bondage is due to the soul forgetting its true relation to God—a relation of absolute dependence—which is represented by the figure of the object reflected and its reflection (*bimba-pratibimba-bhava*). Hence release requires the *jīva* realizing its position as the reflection (*pratibimba*) of the Lord who is the one reflected (*bimba*). *Bimbopāśana* is intended for this realization.

6. The meeting of *bhakti-mārga* and *jñāna-mārga*, i.e. of the paths of devotion and knowledge

The whole course of *jñāna-yoga* consisting of *śravaṇa*, *manana*, and *nididhyāsana* proceeds side by side with devotion, enriching the latter and being enriched by it. *Bhakti-yoga* without *jñāna-yoga* would be blind emotionalism, and *jñāna-yoga* without *bhakti-yoga* would be dry intellectualism. The emotion of love towards God needs to be strengthened by constant study, thinking, and meditation relating to God as the one independent reality. The lack of knowledge relating to God as also doubts and misapprehensions regarding him retard the flow of devotion. Such obstacles to true devotion can be removed only by *śravaṇa* and *manana*. Again, *nididhyāsana* contributes to steadiness in *bhakti* by securing fixity of mind on God. The path of *jñāna*, i.e. of study, reflection, and meditation, in turn requires to be suffused and inspired by love of God. Otherwise it would be formal and would fail to lead to direct experience. In the last stages of *nididhyāsana* when the aspirant contemplates the Lord as his own

bim̐ba (*bimbopāsana*), the paths of *bhakti* and *jñāna* blend and become a single process. The essence of this process is intense and concentrated devotion to God in the full knowledge that he is no other than the reality which is reflected as one's self.

D. APAROKṢA JÑĀNA, OR IMMEDIATE KNOWLEDGE

The natural culmination of *bimbopāsana* is the mystic experience of God in the very form in which he is contemplated, namely as the *bim̐ba*. This direct vision of the Lord as the *bim̐ba* is called *bim̐ba-aparokṣa*, or *aparokṣa jñāna*. But it must be remembered that the granting of this vision is an act of grace by the Lord. It is not the *jīva*'s achievement, not the product of his efforts. The entire course of *sādhana*s has simply enabled the *jīva* to earn the grace of God. That *aparokṣa jñāna* depends on God's grace is evident when we remember that Brahman, in himself, has no physical form. He is unmanifest (*avyakta*). Therefore he cannot be perceived by the devotee unless he chooses to manifest himself to the latter. Pleased by the soul's intense devotion, he condescends to be visualized by the finite individual.

Aparokṣa jñāna is not itself *mokṣa*. It is a foretaste of *mokṣa*. It is the penultimate step to *mokṣa*. It does not destroy ignorance. God's grace alone can lift the veil of ignorance which he has cast over the soul through his *mayā*. Though *aparokṣa jñāna* is itself an act of grace, it does not represent the final, or supreme, act of grace that liberates. When that final grace supervenes, the soul which is on the threshold of release is released.

According to Dvaita, liberation is possible only after death, and so one who has attained the vision of God (the *aparokṣa jñānin*) has to wait till his mortal frame falls off. This does not mean that there is no progress from the dawn of knowledge till the time of death. Closely following *aparokṣa jñāna*, the shackles of the soul begin to untie one by one. The results of past actions are the shackles of the soul. Of these, those results which have not begun to manifest themselves (*sañcita karma*) are destroyed by *aparokṣa jñāna*. Those results which are currently experienced (*prarabdha karma*) have normally to work themselves

out, and till then the body functions. But the *jñānin* can be reprieved of a portion of even these karmas by God's grace. This phase is called *karma-nāśa*. When the physical body (*sthūla śarīra*) falls, the *aparokṣa jñānin* rises in his subtle body (*liṅga śarīra*) to the world of the gods. This phase is called *utkrānti*. There he waits till the entire cosmos is dissolved. During the state of dissolution even the subtle body is destroyed. This phase is called *laya*. This is release proper, and what follows this is the enjoyment (*bhoga*) of unending bliss.

The Dvaitin does not believe in *jīvan-mukti*, or liberation during life. The *aparokṣa jñānin* has been called a '*jīvan-mukta*' by Vyāsārāya, but only in the sense that he is on the verge of being released. The *aparokṣa jñānin* continues to perform the actions that are prescribed, and such performance serves to enhance the bliss of *mokṣa* that is to come.

E. SUMMARY

We may now sum up the entire course of *sādhana*s. The *jīva* begins his journey with dispassion towards the world (*vairāgya*) and a preliminary knowledge of the Lord's greatness (*mahātmya jñāna*). This is the first step. Devotion towards God (*bhakti*) which follows from this is rendered pure and steady by the simultaneous practice of disinterested action (*niṣkāma karma*) and of study, reflection, and meditation (*śravaṇa, manana, and nididhyāsana*). This is the second stage. When *bhakti* merges into *nididhyāsana* of the highest type, there results the immediate experience of God (*aparokṣa jñāna*). This is the third stage. The fourth and final stage is the Lord's grace (*prasāda*), which lifts the veil cast by his *māyā*. The landmarks in the effort for *mokṣa* have been summarised by Jayatīrtha as follows: "By means of knowledge generated by meditation which is governed by dispassion, devotion, study, and reflection" (*vairāgya-bhakti-śruti-mati-niyata-dhyāna-jñānayoga*) (*Tattva-prakāśika*). That over and above all these, God's grace is needed for redemption may be seen from the following statement of Madhva: "...without whose desire liberation is unattainable" (*tad-iccham vinā mokṣa-aprāpteh*) (*Nyāya-vivaraṇa*).

TOPIC II. THE NATURE OF RELEASE

(mokṣa)

Since release is for the soul, the conception of release in the different schools of Indian philosophy differs according to the conception of the soul in them. We may briefly recapitulate the nature of the soul according to Dvaita philosophy.

- (a) The *jīva* is an eternal reality existing apart from Brahman though similar to him and entirely dependent on him.
- (b) The *jīva* is in a real sense a knower, doer, and enjoyer, and bliss is one of its essential attributes.
- (c) The differences among souls are permanent.

The Dvaita conception of release, indicated below, is in consonance with these ideas.

- (1) In release the *jīva* retains its individuality.
- (2) It enjoys bliss in a position of dependence on Brahman and continues to serve Brahman.
- (3) Each *jīva* remains in a grade of release according to the level of its knowledge.

1. The Preservation of Individuality in Release

According to Advaita, the so-called individual self, or *jīva*, is Brahman itself appearing under false limitations. In the state of release, when these limitations disappear through knowledge, the entity till then called the *jīva* is reaffirmed in its real nature as Brahman. Thus *mokṣa* removes the wrong notion of individuality: the notion that one is a finite self separate from Brahman and also from other selves. Both Dvaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita are opposed to the idea of the *jīva* losing its individuality. In the opinion of these schools, the *jīva* must and does retain its distinct personality in the state of release. It attains Brahman, but does not become identical with it.

Madhva criticizes the Advaita view on the following grounds. Firstly, if *mokṣa* is a state of bliss, as the Advaitin also believes, it should admit of an enjoyer of bliss. Bliss as such, i. e. without implying someone who experiences it, is inconceivable. Secondly, is the Ātman, or Brahman, which is all that is left in the state of release according to Advaita, consciousness alone or bliss alone or both? If it is consciousness alone, there will be no room for bliss in it. If it is bliss alone, it will not be aware of that bliss. If it is both consciousness and bliss, it ceases to be non-dual. Thirdly, how can the concept of the *jīva* be denied at any stage when the evidence for its existence as a distinct personality is so certain and clear in life, as represented by the expression 'I'? The idea of individuality is the very basis of all the activities and experiences of an individual to which he clings through a series of births.

Madhva, like Rāmānuja, argues that the very idea of release would have no meaning unless there were someone to be released who would be aware of himself as the released. Again, the whole course of spiritual training intended to help the *jīva* to get rid of its bondage would have no value and would not be followed if its ultimate prospect is only the annihilation of the *jīvatva*, or individuality. Apart from arguments, Madhva cites scriptural evidence in support of his contention that the *jīva* persists as the *jīva* even in release. There are passages which indicate the sportive activities of the released souls, their difference from Brahman, the sovereignty of Brahman over them, and so on.

Thus, according to Madhva, the soul retains its individuality in *mokṣa*. What the state of release removes from the soul is only its wrong sense of independence from Brahman, which is the cause of its misery.

2. *Enjoyment and Activity in Release*

Once the idea that the *jīva* as such is preserved in the state of release, other ideas connected with the *jīva* naturally follow in the context of release.

The self is known to be an enjoyer (*bhoktā*). In the state of bondage it experiences a mixture of the pleasures and pains

resulting from actions. But in release it is said to experience its own intrinsic happiness (*ānanda*). The bliss of the released has nothing to do with the pleasures associated with material objects. The joy is trans-empirical. Hence the experience of this joy does not entail the possession of a physical body. The nature of this bliss cannot be described, but can only be indicated. The enjoyment, however, is subject to God's will.

Thus release is a state of unmixed bliss. The Sāṅkhya and Nyāya schools regard release as mere absence of pain. But absence of pain is only the negative aspect of release. Dvaita, along with other Vedānta schools, emphasizes the positive aspect of bliss in release. It does not, however, regard bliss as identical with the self, as Advaita does, but only as an essential attribute of the self.

Another feature of release is that the self continues to function as an agent of activity. But the activity is not of the kind which we find in the state of bondage, which is governed by personal motives, bound by injunctions and prohibitions, and productive of good and bad results. The only activity of the released is the service of God. It is free from personal desires and born of pure love and gratitude towards God. It is spontaneous and does not entail rewards for performance and punishments for non-performance. Such service is hardly different from devotion (*bhakti*). It is *bhakti* of the highest type. The *bhakti* of the released soul is different from the *bhakti* of the soul to be released. The aspirant for release practises *bhakti* as a means to an end—the end of release. But the *bhakti* of one who has been released is an end in itself, for one who is released has nothing further to gain. This devotion for the sake of devotion is the essence of the bliss enjoyed by the *mukta*.

To the objection that enjoyment and activity are impossible without a body Madhva replies that conditions in *mokṣa* should not be judged by the limited standards of ordinary life. Our only evidence for them is scripture, and there are passages in scripture which indicate the presence of enjoyment and activity in release. Further, since agency and enjoyership belong to the very nature of the self, they cannot be absent in the state of release, where the self retains its nature. Thus, according to Madhva, release does not take away anything that intrinsically belongs to the *jīva*. On

the contrary, it is the occasion for the full manifestation of the essential features of the *jīva* through the removal of all that is extrinsic to it, such as the body.

3. Gradation in the Bliss of Release

The bliss of the *jīvas* in release, being pure, is similar to the bliss of Brahman in kind, but inferior to the latter in degree. Brahman possesses powers over the entire cosmos, and his cosmic activity indicates the magnitude of his joy. That the released souls do not share the cosmic powers of the Lord is pointed out in *Brahma-sūtra* IV, 4, 17. Hence they can be expected to have only limited joy.

Madhva proceeds to declare that the released souls are not equal even among themselves in the enjoyment of bliss. There is a wide disparity in the intensity and quality of the effort put forward by different souls for attaining release. Each soul practises the disciplines according to its intrinsic capacity. The efforts of Brahman, of the gods (*deva*), of sages (*ṛṣi*), and of human beings (*nara*) are not the same. Hence the immediate knowledge of Brahman (*aparokṣa jñāna*) attained by the different grades of souls is not of the same intensity. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the quantum of bliss earned by each soul in release would be proportionate to the intensity of the knowledge, or vision, gained by it. This theory of the gradation in bliss in release is called *ananda-taratamya*. But the bliss of each soul in release would be full, or complete, in itself; it would be the maximum that that soul is capable of, whereas in the state of bondage every soul would be enjoying only a fraction of the joy it is capable of. Just as vessels of different sizes may all be full of water, even so the souls in release, though varying in capacity, are all full of bliss, whereas in the state of bondage no soul would be completely blissful, just as none among vessels of different sizes may be filled to capacity.

Based on the idea of gradation in bliss, four levels of liberation have been conceived. The first is called *salokya*. This consists in entering the abode of Viṣṇu, called Vaikuṇṭha. All released souls reach this abode in the first instance. But those who possess

greater knowledge of God attain proximity to God. This stage of *mokṣa* is called *sāṃipya*. Of those who have reached this level, some by virtue of their still greater knowledge are able to acquire the very form of the Lord. This is the third level called *sārūpya*. Of those who have acquired the form of the Lord, some become united with him. This is the highest state called *sayujya*. Vyāsātīrtha makes it clear that the term '*sayujya*' does not stand for complete identity with Brahman, as in Advaita. The term is used only to indicate the closeness of the relationship which the *jīva* has attained with the Lord and does not compromise the distinction of the soul from Brahman. From *śālokya* to *sayujya* there is an increase in the degree of bliss enjoyed by the released soul.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness primarily to the following works.

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THE GANAPATI-VINĀYAKA-GAJĀNANA WORSHIP ANALYSIS OF AN INTEGRATED CULT

BY

V. RĀMASUBRAMANIAM [‘AUNDY’]

(*Director - Principal, Academy of Theatrical Research,
Madras - 5*)

I. *Introduction*

1. The worship of the elephant-headed Deity or ‘Gānāpatyam,’ as it was later sublimated in Hindu philosophical treatises, was one of the six great religious cults of India, recognised by the Advaita philosopher, Śaṅkara, as falling within the orbit of that integrated Vedic Theism, which his followers later baptised as ‘Ṣaṣmata’ (the six cults). The primary elements—the iconographic G.C.M., so to say—of this worship is an image of a deity with an elephant’s head (Gajānana) fixed on a seated or standing, dwarfish, pot-bellied, human body, with four or more hands of an even number, two of them gesturing protection (Abhaya) and blessings (Varada). This whole image will be surrounded by a halo-like frame crowned by an open-mouthed lion-head (Kīrtimukha). This icon is universally worshipped in India and South-East Asia by offerings of sweet cakes (modaka) and by breaking cocoa-nuts in front of it. The deity is also called Vighneśvara, the Lord of Obstacles, and is invariably propitiated in advance for not hindering the progress as well as the ultimate success of any enterprise.

2. The form of the image is certainly *ludicrous*, though not fierce like those of the goddess Kālī and of the Man-lion God, Narasimha. Its ludicrousness is primarily due to the extreme disproportion between a dwarfish human body and the massive head of a tusker. Similar zoomorphic images of deities have

occurred in Egypt, Greece and India, but they have not evoked our smile. And this writer has a definite purpose, which will be made clear in subsequent sections in highlighting this comic aspect of the image.

II. Some types of Gaṇānana Icons & Symbols.

3. But before analysing such and other cult-psychologies behind its iconographic evolution, a succinct enumeration of *but a few* of the deity's 91 forms, 51 symbols, and their world-wide provenance seems necessary. Some authorities mention 57 forms; 'Mudgala-Purāṇa' 32, the 'Śārādā-Tilaka' 51, while the 'Śilpasāra' refers but to a few of them. We propose to refer to *but a few types*.

4. *Bala-Gaṇeśa* is a single-headed image, red as the rising sun and four-armed, with mango, plantain-fruit, jack-fruit and sugar-cane in his hands, besides holding a wood-apple in his proboscis.

In describing the finds of the famous Ellora caves of Āndhra Pradesh, Burgess refers to a goddess standing between flaying fires, doing ascetic penance. She is four-armed, the upper left balancing a baby Gaṇeśa and the upper right a Śiva līṅga. On the pedestal is carved a crocodile, the emblem of the river-goddess Gaṅgā. Prof. Sylvain Levi has published a Balinese Vinayaka-stotra in Sanskrit, (in his book "Sanskrit Texts from Bali," G.O.S., Baroda), wherein occurs the following line :

"Umāsutam namayāmi, Gaṅgā-putram namonamah"

("I bow to the son of UMĀ, the son of Gaṅgā")

In this passage UMĀ is equated with Gaṅgā.

In the Jalakanṭheśwara Temple, within the Vellore fort, on a pillar of the Kalyāṇa Maṇḍapa, there is a Gaṇeśa creeping on all fours like a baby.

5. *Bhakti Gaṇeśa* is single-headed, white complexioned, seated and four-armed, having a cocoanut, a mango, a lump of sugar and a cup of sweet pudding in his hands. 'Bhakti' here connotes fond of eating sweet things.

6. *Tarūṇa Gaṇeśa* is single-headed, red coloured, seated, and four-armed, with a noose (pāśa), an elephant-goad (aṅkuśa) a jumbū fruit ('Nāval' in Tamil) in his hands and the proboscis holding a sugar-cane.

7. *Vara-Gaṇeśa* is also single-headed, red-complexioned, seated on a pedestal, but sixteen armed, with sword, bow, arrows, shield, hammer, club, goad, noose, spear, trident, battle-axe, banner, and a vampire (vetāla) in thirteen of his hands, and the 14th wound round the waist of his wife, while the 15th and the 16th gesturing protection (abhaya) and grant of boons (varada).

8. *Bhuvaneśa Gaṇeśa* is single-headed, white complexioned, seated on a lotus and eight-armed, holding a conch, a sugar-cane, a bow, flower-arrows, an elephant's tusk, a noose, a goad, and an ear of paddy in his seven hands, while his eighth offers refuge.

9. *Nrīṭṭa Gaṇeśa* is single-headed, golden yellow hued, eight-armed, holding a noose, a goad, a battle-axe, an elephant-tusk, a sweet cake (modaka), a finger-ring (aṅguḷiya) and a quoit (Valaya) in his seven hands, while the eighth remains free to show gestures (abhinaya). This standing image will have its left leg, which stands on a pedestal, slightly bent, while the right is held up in the air. Extant sculptures, however, show only four arms. A very attractive, finely chiselled, specimen of a dancing Gaṇeśa, with an umbrella held over his head, occurs at the 'Hoyaśālīsvara' temple in Halebid (Mysore State).

10. *Haridrā-Gaṇeśa* also called 'Rātri-Gaṇeśa' is single-headed, seated, turmeric coloured, three-eyed, yellow-robed and four-armed, holding a noose, a goad, a sweet cake and a tusk in his hands.

11. *Bāla-chandrā Gaṇeśa* is the usual four-armed, single-headed, seated specimen, but having a crescent moon on its forehead. The 'Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa' refers to the rescue of the moon from gradual extinction by Gaṇeśa.

12. *Ekadanta Gaṇeśa* is also the usual single-headed, four armed, seated image, with its right tusk visibly broken, while one of its hands holds that bit of broken tusk. The 'Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa' refers to the loss of that tusk in a fight with Paraśurāma.

The more popular myth is that the God himself broke it and threw it at the Moon in anger, when the latter laughed at his comic dance.

13. *Vighnarāja Ganeśa* is single-headed, seated, redcoloured, like the rising sun and four-armed, having a noose and a goad in its upper hands, the third lower in the act of eating a mango, while the fourth is resting on its knee.

14. *Dhwaja Ganeśa* is also single-headed, seated in padmāsana pose, four-armed, the upper arms holding a rosary (akṣhamāla) and a student's flag-symbol (daṇḍa), while the lower two holds a palm-leaf manuscript and a handled water-pot, thus suggesting that the deity is in the act of undergoing training in philosophy and yoga.

15. *Prasanna Ganeśa* is single-headed, scarlet-coloured like the rising sun, standing on lotus-pedestal, with or without the natural bend of the body (abhaṅga or sama bhaṅga), clothed in red robes, four-armed, with noose, goad, tusk and sweet cake (modaka) in his hands. In some images the tusk and the sweet cake are replaced by simple gestures of refuge and boon-granting (abhaya and varada).

16. *Unmatta Ganeśa* otherwise called *Ucchishṭa Ganeśa*, is also single-headed, three-eyed, seated on a lotus pedestal, four-armed, holding a noose, a goad, a broken tusk and a vessel full of sweet cakes. The elephant-head must look ferocious, as if it is in its rut.

17. *Heramba Ganeśa* is five-headed, all in a row, or four of them facing the four cardinal points and the fifth facing upwards from above the four. Seated on a lion, the god is golden yellow in complexion, with eight arms, holding a noose, a tusk, a battle-axe, a three-headed club, a rosary and a modaka in his six hands, the remaining two expressing abhaya and varada gestures. The lion may be either in profile or facing the worshipper. The Śiva temple at Tiruvottiyūr (near Madras) has one specimen with five elephant-heads, all facing the spectator. Father Heras refers to another image, hailing from Munshigañj District, near Dacca in East Pakistan, "which has five heads in a tier." But

the bronze image at the Nilayatakshi temple of Nāgapattinam (Coromandel coast) has four heads facing the directions and the fifth facing upwards, while the lion is facing sideways. The museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, founded by Dr. Heras, has another specimen (bronze) of Gaṇeśa standing on the lion, which faces the spectator. This image has a *prabhāvali* also behind it having a kirtimukha at the top. Mr. C. B. Sītārāman, in his very illuminative monograph on Gaṇapati Iconography in the "Bhāratiya Vidyā," describes yet another five-headed, ten-armed specimen, now in the British Museum, London. Seated under a tree on a throne in Mahārāja Leelāsana posture, Gaṇeśa is having his Goddess seated on his left lap. She looks up at him with a lotus in her hand. Below them is a rat. The peculiarity of this image is that it does not have the lion-mount. The 'Śilparatna,' a Hindu treatise on architecture, sculpture and painting holds, (according to Mr. Sītārāman), that Gaṇeśa may be seated on a lotus pedestal under a kalpaka tree, and that he can have ten-arms, holding "the weapons mentioned in the Mudgala-Purāṇa," and that he may be surrounded by the gods and gaṇas. Inscriptional evidence too, says Mr. Sītārāman, confirms this last concept, as No. 84 of Tanjore (S.I.I. Vol. II—p. 467) refers to a seated Gaṇapati with a tree as one of his accompaniments.

18. *Chaturmukha Gaṇeśa*: There are some specimens of four-headed Gaṇeśa in India and South East Asia facing the four cardinal points. The progress report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending March, 1907 (pp. 34-55), and the *Epigraphia Indica* (IX—p. 277 ff.) give us information about a four-headed image of Gaṇeśa, facing the four directions, perched on the top of a pillar at Ghatiyāla, established in Samvat 918 by the Pratihāra king, Kakkuka. Four-faced images of Gaṇeśa are common in Nepal too.

19. *Vijaya Gaṇeśa*, (corrupted into *Bija Gaṇeśa*). The 'Śilparatna' and the 'Mudgala Purāṇa' mention a single-headed, four-armed Gaṇeśa, profusely decked with jewellery and ornaments and being fond of citron fruits.

20. *Valamburi Gaṇeśa*: Gaṇeśa images usually have their trunks bent towards the left. In rare cases they are turned

towards the right. (Valamburi (Tamil) = turned towards the right). There are specimens of such in the Rīśyaśringēśvara temple in Śringeri Taluk (Mysore State), at Vallam village in Tanjavur District, and at Karuppathūr on the banks of the Cauvery. The vallam bas-relief is a Gaṇeśa seated in the Mahārāja Līlāsana posture, while the one at Karupattūr is in a Yogāsana pose, said to have been taken when the god had an opportunity to instruct Narasimha (Man-Lion avatāra) in the philosophy of Śivam (Śivatatvam). (Mr. C. B. Sītārāman).

21. *Śakti Gaṇeśa*: The Leftist (Vāma-mārgi) section of Śakti worshippers (Śāktas) use certain secret forms of the Gaṇeśa image associated with sex. They name them Uddāṇḍa, Ūrdhva, Ucchiṣṭa and Vara-Gaṇeśas. The late Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rāo [on. p. 56 of his "Elements of Hindu Iconography". Vol. I Part I (1914)] remarks: "The general characteristics of a Śakti-Gaṇapati are, according to the "*Vighneśvara-Pratishtha-Vidhi*" that he should be seated on the Padmāsana with a green-coloured Śakti by his side, whom he should be embracing about her waist, and that there should be no contact between the hips of the god and the goddess. His colour should be the crimson of the setting sun. He should hold the weapons pāśa and vajra and be made to look terrific.

"The '*Mantra-Mahārṇava*', on the other hand, has it that danta, anukūśa, pāśa and akṣhamāla should be placed in the hands, and modaka in the trunk of this Gaṇapati and that Śakti, decked with all ornaments and clothed in gold-laced cloth, should be seated by his side."

But the most popular classification of Śakti Gaṇeśas is: (a) Mahāgaṇapati, (b) Lakshmī-Gaṇapati, (c) Ūrdhva-Gaṇapati, (d) Ucchiṣṭa-Gaṇapati, and (e) Piṅgaḷa Gaṇapati.

(a) *Mahagaṇapati*: Single-headed, seated, red-complexioned, ten-armed, holding a lotus, a pomegranate, a water-jug, a club, a tusk, a sugarcane, an ear of paddy and a noose in his hands. The 9th hand holds the hip of his spouse, while the 10th rests on his knee. The goddess is white and two-armed, one of which holds the lotus, while the other embraces her lord. The '*Mudgala Purāṇa*' adds the third eye and the crescent moon on the forehead

of the god. It mentions the club, the noose, the conch, the discus (chakra) a sugarcane bow, the lotus, the broken tusk, an ear of paddy and the nectar pot as the objects to be placed in Gaṇeśa's hands.

(b) *Lakshmi-Gaṇapati*: Single-headed, white complexioned, seated, eight-armed, holding a parrot, a pomegranate, a lotus, a golden pot full of gems, a noose, a goad, a twig of the Kalpaka tree and a bāṇa bud in his hands, while water flows out from his proboscis. (*Aghoraśivachārya* in his '*Kriyakrama Dyoti*')

But the *Mantra Mahārṇava* adds that the image should have three eyes and should hold a golden-hued Lakshmi, seated on his lap, in his embrace and she, holding a lotus in one hand, must also embrace him with the other. It omits the bāṇa bud, the lotus and the parrot and substitutes a tusk, a discus and the gesture of protection in their stead.

(c) *Ūrdhva-Gaṇapati*: Single-headed; of golden-yellow hue, seated and four-armed, one of which embraces his lightning coloured goddess-wife, while the others hold a sugarcane bow, a tusk and a flower. The proboscis holds an ear of paddy.

(d) *Ucchishṭa-Gaṇapati*: The *Kriyākramadyoti* enjoins that this image should have the usual elephant-head and four hands. The latter must hold a rosary, a Vīṇa, a flower and a pomegranate. The proboscis must hold an ear of paddy.

The '*Mantramahārṇava*' says that the image must be seated on a padmāsana, red-complexioned and must hold a noose, a goad, a bow and an arrow in its hands and a nude goddess, seated by his side, with whom he must attempt coition.

The '*Uttarakāṃikāgama*' prescribes that he must have three eyes and that one of his four hands must touch the sex organ of the naked goddess. His complexion must be dark, but he must wear a crown. His goddess must be two-handed and named '*Vighneśvari*.' Some sculptures make his proboscis touch her sex organ, while her hand holds his. (See section 28).

(e) *Piṅgala Gaṇapati*: Single-headed, seated, yellow coloured, six-armed, holding a mango, a sugarcane bow, a battle-

axe, a sweet cake and a kalpaka flower bunch, in five hands and the sixth holding Lakshmi, seated by his side.

III. *Some unique specimens :*

22. A two-armed Gaṇeśa is a very rare occurrence even though the '*Vighneśvara-Pratishṭā-Vidhi*' mentions one such type.

23. The '*Yamala-Tantra*' mentions two-headed and three-headed Gaṇeśas. Mr. Sītārāman says: "We find stucco representations of the same on the prakāra wall of the Naṅjunḍeśvara Temple at Nānjangūd (Mysore State). Unfortunately they are mutilated." The same writer states that the clay images carried in processions in Bombay on the Vinayaka-chaturthi day are all two-faced.

24. In Beraghat, near Jubbulpore, (Madhya Pradesh), is a temple, dedicated to Chaushat Yoginis, built by the Haihayas of Tripuri. Among the bas-reliefs is a dancing Gaṇesh, four-armed. In his upper two hands, he holds a serpent, just like the Kālīya-mardana-Krishna. The late Mr. H. Krishna Śāstri has stated, in his book "South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses," that the "*Kāśyapaśūtra*" permits the substitution of the noose by a cobra or a garland.

25. In the circular arcade surrounding the above temple are found mutilated figures of 64 yoginis. Among them is one female Gaṇeśa (Gaṇeśāṇi), having a thin waist and full-grown woman's breasts.

26. There is a Gaṇeśāṇi in the Sthāṇumālaya temple of Śuchīndram (Kanyākumārī District), carved on the side of a pillar opposite the only shrine of the goddess Kanyāmbā within the temple. In this carving, the Gaṇeśāṇi is seated in a Sukhāsana posture, having full-grown female breasts, and she has four hands, besides the proboscis.

27. In Madhurai, very near the door-keepers (Dwārapālakas) of the main entrance to the Sundareśvara temple, at the Kampattaḍi maṇḍapam, there is a female Gaṇeśa, popularly called Durgā Gaṇapāṭi. But she has only two human hands.

and two tiger feet with claws. One of the hands holds a lotus while the other hangs loose.

28. A stone sculpture of Gaṇeśa, occurring in the Nāges'vara temple at Kumbhakonam, has four arms, one of them embracing a goddess, while the other three hold an axe, a noose and a sweet cake. But the proboscis of the god touches the Yoni (sex organ) of the goddess, while her hand touches his erect (Ūrdhva) līṅga (sex organ).

29. At the Śrī-Śailam temple in the Āndhra Pradesh, there is a Gaṇeśa playing on a flute, like Śrī Krishna !

30. At Thirunallār, in Thaṅjāvur District, a Śaṅgrāma, (a naturally-polished pebble from the river Gaṇḍak), is worshipped as Gaṇeśa.

31. Gaṇeśa is depicted, in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kañchīpuram, as the head of the Seven Mothers (Sapta Mātrikās). "Saṅkara-Kiṅkara" states, in his monograph on Gaṇapatyam in the Souvenir of the Saṅkara Shaṅmata Conference (1969), that the names 55-62 of the 'Mahagaṇapati-Sahasranāma' speak of his lordship over each of the Seven Mothers and also of even Mahālakshmi, whose parts they are.

32. Father Heras has published, along with his monograph on 'The Problem of Gaṇapati' in the "Tamil Culture", a plate, wherein a four-armed Gaṇeśa is riding a rat, which, in its turn, is riding on a peacock! The image is now in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Society at Bombay.

IV. *Ganeśa's international provenance.*

33. "The cult of Gaṇapati travelled on a Mahāyāna Buddhist ticket to very far foreign lands. Burma, Siam, Champa, Cambodia, Nepal, Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Khotan, China, Mangolia and Japan admitted Gaṇeśa into their pantheon and created artistic manifestations of his in sculpture and painting. Before the birth of the Tibetan saintly missionary, P'ags-pa, who carried Mahāyāna Buddhism to Mangolia and converted Emperor Kublai Khan to the new faith in the 13th century, it is said that his father invoked the assistance of Gaṇeśa. The latter appeared

to him, took him up with his trunk and carried him to the top of Mount Meru and, showing him the country of Mangolia, announced to him: "Thy son will subjugate this country". (Condensed from "Mythologie des Buddhismes", pp. 885 by Grunswedel, (1909), Leipzig).

34. *Nepal*: The Nepalese Gaṇeśa is single-headed, seated on a pedestal, pot-bellied and six-armed, holding a conch, an ear of corn, a sweet cake and an wood-apple. The remaining two hands rest on his knees. But the uniqueness of this image is that it has the hood of a nine-headed cobra projecting upwards from its crowned head. Father Heras also has published photographs of two Nāga-Gaṇeśas, one standing and the other seated, with five-headed serpents over his crown. Even though the Rev. Father has not mentioned the source of his exhibits, we can hazard a surmise, from the style of sculpture, that they are Nepalese in origin.

35. The ancient temple of Gaṇeśa, which stands on the northern side of the famous Paśupatināth temple of Nepal, is said to have been built by Chārumati, a daughter of the Emperor Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. Babu N. N. Basu, believing in the above tradition, remarked, in his 'Archaeological Survey of Mayūrbhanj', that the cult of Vināyaka reached even Japan where he was called 'Binayaka'. It was Oldfield who first recorded this tradition in his "*Sketches of Nepal*" Vol. II, p. 198. But Miss Alice Getty and other scholars dispute the historicity of this tradition.

36. *Pakistan*: A terra-cotta bas-relief of Gaṇeśa with elephant-head has been recovered from AKA in the N. W. Frontier Province of Pakistan, where several pre-Gupta sculptures have been unearthed.

We have already referred in Section 17 to a Heramba Gaṇapati with five elephant-heads in a tier, hailing from East Pakistan.

37. *Ceylon*: Among the bronzes occurring in the Śiva Devalas of Polonnuruva in Ceylon, we find Gaṇeśa of the later Choḷa iconographic style (circa A.D. 1300),

38. *Chinese Turkestan* : Dr. A. K. Coomāraswāmy refers to a four-armed elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, found in Chinese Turkestan as part of a group of frescoes, wooden panels and birch-bark manuscripts at Khadaliq. (Circa 7th century A.C.). ("History of Indian and Indonesian Art.").

39. *China* : In a rock-cut temple of *King-hsein* (A.D. 531) there is a two-armed Gaṇeśa, seated, holding a noose and an axe with no crown on his head, but having instead a halo behind his head. He wears a dhoti and an aṅgavastram in the Indian fashion, the latter worn like a yajnopavīta. (sacred thread).

40. *Indo-China* : Among the sculpture of *MI-SOC* (a sacred city founded by Bhadravarman of Champa in Indo-China) now exhibited in the Museum at Touraine in Vietnam, we find images of Siva, Skanda and Gaṇeśa (C. 400 A.C.).

41. *Japan* : Besides the common forms of Gaṇeśa, occurring in Japan, a unique sculptural specimen has also been found. In it, two standing, two-handed human forms, draped in the South Indian Brāhminic fashion, but having uncrowned elephant-heads, embrace each other. Mr. S. Naṭarājan, in an article in the 'Bhavan's Journal', Bombay, declares: "The Japanese associate them with romance, besides good luck. They call him *Kon-kiten*."

The 'Kāñchī-Purāṇa' tells us that Śiva and his spouse were looking at pictographs of the alphabets, when the former's eyes fell on the first vowel 'A' of the sound *aum*, and Pārvati's on the second vowel 'U'. 'A' looked like a male elephant to Śiva and 'U' like a female elephant to Pārvati, both in the act of embrace. Thus was created the composite pictograph of the sound 'aum'. Buddhist missionary history records that one of the greatest Buddhist monks, who spread that religion in Japan was a native of Kāñchīpuram (Tamil Nādu). Saint Gnānasambandhar (7th century A.C.) also sings in his Tiruvaḷivalam Tevāram thus : "*Piḍi atan uru umai kola*" [Goddess Umā having taken the form of a female elephant].

42. *Java* : There is a 13th century stone image of Gaṇeśa, coming from Singasari in Java, 5 ft. 3/5 inches in height, now

preserved in the Leiden Museum. It is in a sitting posture, four-armed, but seated on a bed of several skulls. It displays two more skulls, one on each breast, (evidently hanging like a garland), and two more still on its crown. The Gaṇeśa's upper hands each hold a disc with handle.

43. Another Gaṇeśa from Kediri in Eastern Java has all the normal features of the seated God when viewed from the front. But it displays a fierce-looking '*Kirthimukha*' as its back-view. Dr. H. Zimmer remarks as follows: "A Javanese development of the idea is that when Vighneśvara, the Lord of Obstacles' turns his back, disaster falls.....A fearsome mask has unfolded under a lavish decor. This so-called '*Kirtimukha*' ... appears repeatedly as a decorative element on the later temples and in popular Javanese lore it was called *Banaspati*, the Spirit of the Woods." ("Art and Architecture of Indian Asia" by H. Zimmer, vol I p. 315).

44. The *Caṇḍi Javi* monument of Java too has supplied many pieces to the Leiden Museum, among which are Mahishāsura-Mardini and Gaṇeśa.

45. *Central and South America*: Dewān Chaman Lāl, in his book, '*Hindu America*', has published a picture of a sculptured stone slab unearthed somewhere in Central or South America, which has a crude representation of an elephant-headed, seated human being, dwarfish in stature. As the elephant was quite unknown in primitive America, the sculptor of the image could not imagine the accurate features of that animal. He could only get hearsay reports handed down to him through several generations from the earliest Indian colonists of that continent. Recent research has established that the sweet potato was introduced to the S. E. Asian archipelago by Peruvian mariners in prehistoric times and that South Indian mariners too could have visited South and Central America through Java and Indonesia.

46. *Gaṇeśa in Jainism*: Miss Alice Getty declares that the Jainas too claim Vināyaka as one of their deities, and offer worship to him in some rock-cut temples of Gujarāt. The

Indian Historical Research Society of Bombay, has a Śakthi-Gaṇapati, having a prabhāvali crowned by a pitcher (kalāśa).

47. *Gaṇeśa in Buddhism*: The Buddhists' devotion to Gaṇeśa is founded upon a mystic mantra, called '*Gaṇapati Hridayam*' (The Heart of Gaṇapati), which was supposed to have been given to Ānanda by the Buddha himself. (Rājendralāl Mitra in '*Nepalese Buddhist Literature*'). The Mantra in question contains an invocation used at the time of the dedication of a statue of a dancing Gaṇeśa with three eyes.

Father Heras, with his characteristic cynicism towards everything Hindu and Āryan, (inexcusable in an Indologist), remarks thus: "Gaṇeśa being thus officially, though surreptitiously (!) introduced into Mahāyāna Buddhism, it is not strange to find his images ornate with Buddhist characteristics..... This successful intrusion of Gaṇapati into the Buddhist pantheon provoked nevertheless a reaction. He was finally shown as a demon under the feet of other deities. In Nepal, he appears trodden by Vighnāntaka, the Destroyer of Obstacles.' The irony of fate! It was Gaṇapati's own title! In Nepal and Tibet he is shown under the feet of Goddess Aparājita, who is consequently styled '*Gaṇapati-Samākṛānta*' (She who tramples on Gaṇapati).

"Again in Tibet, he is depicted under the feet of the black '*Mañjuśrī*,' the Tibetan god of Wisdom, possessing three eyes,—again the title and endowment, which appertained to Gaṇeśa himself..... This was a crushing defeat for the elephantine god, who knew only of success in his daring career."

48. Miss Alice Getty tells us, in her monograph on "the Elephant-headed God," that, in a frieze round the Kantaka Catinga stupa, near Mihintala, in Ceylon, (C. 1st or 2nd century A.C.) there is a double procession of '*gaṇas*,' carrying gifts and converging to a central point, wherein there is another figure with the face of an elephant with his trunk turned to the left.

The above condensed list itself has swelled to a tedious length, even though it is essential for a proper understanding of this writer's approach to the Vighneśvara problem.

V. *Literary and other references and their chronology:*

49. References to the worship of Gaṇapati, Vināyaka, Vighneśvara and Gajānana occur individually in Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the Sūtras, the Smritis, the Epics, the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas. Let us now try to eke out a broad chronological order of development of the cult from them as well as from a few other sources.

50. The opening verse of the hymn (III-23) of the Rig-Veda (C. 2500 to 1800 B. C. according to Prof. Max Mueller, C. 3000 B. C. according to Dr. Winternitz, and c. 6000 B. C. according to Bala Gaṅgādhara Tilak), runs as follows:—

*“Gaṇanām tvā gaṇapatim havāmahe
Kavim kavīnam upamaśra vastamam |
Jyeṣṭharājam brahmaṇām brahmaṇaspata
Anaśrinvan ūtibhissīda sadanam” || 1*

In this hymn, composed by the sage Gṛtsamada, the words *Gaṇapati*, *Kavīnam-kavi*, and *Jyeṣṭha-raja*, which are synonyms of Gaṇeśa, occur with identical meanings. But all the Anukramaṇis, the Brihad-devata and the Vedic commentaries are unanimous in declaring that this hymn is dedicated to the god *Brihaspati*, otherwise called *Brahmaṇaspati*, who was the Lord of Hosts. His hosts are the Angīrāsas,—groups of chanters of Vedic hymns at sacrifices. There were many such gaṇas in Vedic times and *Brahmaṇaspati* was the title of their Director, just in the same way as ‘*Brahma*’ was the title of the Director of a Vedic sacrifice. For a clearer understanding of the term by a non-Hindu reader, we may *broadly*, though not on all fours, equate *Brihaspati* with the leader of the Greek chorus of chanters of the Dithyramb in the festival of Dionysus.

51. Again, in his commentary on another hymn (X-112-9) of the Rig-Veda, Śāyanāchārya explains the word ‘*Gaṇanām*’ as

1. This hymn was originally employed in the ritual of the *Aśvamedha* when the queens circumambulate the dead horse,

'Devādi-gaṇāṇam', and takes the word 'Gaṇeśa' as "Stotra-gaṇeśa" (Leader of a band of chanters of eulogies) and equated him with Indra. (Max Mueller places this protion of the Rig Veda in C. 1200 B. C.)

52. The 'Yajur Veda' equates Gaṇapati with Rudra. In the 'Taittiriya Samhita' (IV-5-4-1) and in the 'Vājasaneyī Samhita' (16-25) occur:

"Namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaśca vonamonamah"

(Obeissance to the Gaṇas and to Gaṇapati!)

Max Muller places this Veda in C. 1000 B. C.

53. The eloquent omission, in the above references, of Gaṇapati's 'elephant-head (Gajānana), his being the eldest son of Śiva or Rudra, his pot-belly (Lambodara), and of his being the creator and remover of obstacles (Vighneśvara), at once tempt us to dismiss the equation of this Gaṇapati and Brhaspati with the Gaṇapati of the later *Gaṇapātyas*. But that will be a hasty step, as we shall realise by and by as we proceed with our argumentation.

54. Among the vast mass of post-Vedic literature, the earliest mention of another synonym of Gaṇapati,—viz. Vināyaka—is found in the 'Mānava Grihya Sūtra' (2-14) of about the 6th century B. C., and also in some quotations from the 'Baijuvāpa Grihya', chosen by Aparārka, in his commentary on the 'Yajna-Valkya Smṛiti' (Ānandāśrama Series-Pp. 563-565). Prof. (Dr.) R. C. Hazra of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, in his excellent paper on 'Gaṇapati worship' (Journal of the Gangānāth Jhā Research Institute, Vol. V-Part 4 - Allahabad), remarks as follows:—

"According to these two Sūtra works, the Vināyakas (plural) are malevolent demons, four in number. The Mānava-Grihya-Sūtra gives their names as 'Śālaka-ṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarāja-putra, Usmita and Deva-Yajana,' and says: 'The following are the symptoms of those possessed by these. "(Such a person) pounds clods, tears grass, writes on his limbs and have various inauspicious dreams, in which he sees waters, men with

shaved heads, men with matted hair, persons wearing red clothes, camels, pigs, asses, chaṇḍālas and so on. (He feels) that he is moving through the air, and, by walking along the road (he) thinks that someone is pursuing him from behind. When possessed by these Vināyakas, princes do not get their kingdoms, although they āre (otherwise) qualified, girls cannot secure husbands, although they are eager to do so and possess auspicious signs, women do not get any issue, although they are anxious to have offspring and are (otherwise) qualified, children of virtuous women die, a learned teacher fails to attain the position of an Āchārya, students face great interruptions in the course of their study, merchants' trade fails, and agriculture of husbandmen yields poor crops".....The Sūtra next prescribes a rite in which various things, including meat, fish (both raw and cooked), wine and cakes, are to be offered to a strange variety of beings."

These beings include not only such well-known gods as Mahāsena (Subrahmanya), Mahādeva (Śiva), Mahārāja (Kubera) and Haimavatā (Pārvati), but also the following obscure demons : Vimukha (the ugly-faced), Syena (the hawk), Baka (the crane), Yaksha (the disembodied spirit of a dead person), Kalaha (quarrelsome), Bhīru (the coward), Vināyaka (one who misleads), Kūṣmāṇḍa-rāja-Putra (the effigy made of a big ash-gourd), Yajnavikshepa (destroyer of a sacrifice), Virūpāksha (cross-eyed), Lohitāksha (bloody-eyed), Vaiśravaṇa (possessing uncouth ears), Yūpakeśī¹ (woman whose lock of hair is pinned up to a sacrificial post), Sūparakroḍi (woman with hanging pot shape breasts), Kulāṅgāpamāna (assaulter of chaste women) and Jambhaka (one having a protruding tooth).

55. The next reference to Gaṇeśvara and Mahāgaṇeśvaras (plural) occurs in the 'Nāṭyaśāstra' of Bharata: "O great lords of gaṇas (Mahāgaṇeśvaras), among whom Nandikeśvara is the

1. "The exorcist then caught hold of Saroja by the hair, tied it in a knot and nailed this to the tree. He then clipped off the hair near the roots, leaving the knotted tresses nailed to the trunk Saroja, thereupon, swooned and fell in a heap at the foot of the tree..... At cock-crow Saroja rose and, for the first time in weeks, asked for her morning cup of coffee." ("Driving out an Evil Spirit" by Mohan Khokar in Bhavan's Journal, August 18, 1963.)"

foremost, accept this my offering consecrated by the mantra!" [Chapter III - 58].

And again, "O god of gods, the great God, the lord of gaṇas (Gaṇeśvara), the destroyer of the three cities (Tripura)! Accept this my offering consecrated by the mantra!" (III 59—R. A. S. B. Edition, Calcutta).

In these two verses, the first refers to a number of Mahāgaṇeśvaras, who are followers of Śiva, and the second to Śiva himself, who was "the destroyer of the Three Cities." These verses were invocations chanted at the consecration of a *Mattavarīṇi* of a Nāṭya-maṇḍapa (playhouse). Among the 30 gods, who were so invoked, we find no Gaṇapati nor Gajānana.

56. During the consecration of the *Main playhouse*, however, the following verses occur :

"This (the consecration) should take place after he (the Yajamana) has made obeisance to the great Śiva, the Lord of all regions, Brahman, who sprang from the Lotus, Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, Viṣṇu, Kārtikeya, Sarasvatī, Lakshmī, Siddhī, Medhā, Smritī, Matī, Chandra, Sūrya, Maruts, guardians of directions, Aśvins, Mitra, Agni, Rudra, Varṇas, Kāla, Kālī, Yama, Niyati, the sceptre of Yama, (Yama-daṇḍa), weapons of Viṣṇu, Nāgarāja, Garuḍa, Vajrāyudha, Lightning (Vidyut), seas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Rishis, Nāṭyakumārīs, Mahāgrāmaṇi, Yakshas, Guhyakas and hosts of Bhūtas." ('Nāṭya-Śāstra,' Ch. III—1 to 8).

In the above long list of deities, Brihaspati occurs next to Śiva and Brahma. But Śiva's eldest son, Gaṇapati, does not at all figure anywhere, even though Skanda, his younger brother and even Nāṭya-kumārīs (virgin-danseuses) come in for worship. Abhinava Gupta, the learned commentator of the "Nāṭyaśāstra," (c. 11th century A.D.) attempts to explain away the omission by equating "Mahāgrāmaṇi" (the 4th from the last in the list) with Mahāgaṇapati.

But Dr. M. M. Ghosh rightly 'disagrees with him by pointing out the occurrence of Mahāgrāmaṇi elsewhere (III—58, and 47) with other meanings,

57. And again, in Chapter IV-260 of the same treatise, in describing Piṇḍi-bandha gestures, the *gesture of Gaṇeśvara* has been named 'Dakṣa-Yajna Vimardini.' This two clearly indicates that Bharata uses the word Gaṇeśvara as a common noun, signifying 'a leader of gaṇas' and not as Gaṇapati-Gajānana, which proves that between c. 2nd century B.C. and 1st century A.C. the Gajānana-Gaṇapati cult has not emerged at all.

58. While endorsing the main points of Dr. M. M. Ghosh's analysis, this writer desires to point out one important element in the worship of Gaṇapati, occurring in the 'Nāṭyaśāstra' which Dr. Ghosh has overlooked. Bharata has emphatically declared that Brahman was the first playwright who composed the 'Amṛita-manthana' and the 'Tripura dāha,' as his first two plays. In both of them, Śiva was the Divine Hero. It was, therefore, natural for Bharata to give Śiva the first place in worship and Brahman, the second place, when consecrating a playhouse. But when he gives Brihaspati the third place in the order of precedence over all gods of the Hindu pantheon, and when we know that, in the Rig Veda, that God has been equated with Gaṇapati, the concept of precedence of worship to that God must have come into vogue by that time, even though he had not yet been equated with Vināyaka or Vighneśvara or Gajānana.

59. Bharata, however, did not ignore the concept of Vighneśvara altogether. In Chapter I - 64-68, he says: "Now, when the performance relating to the killing of the Daityas and Dānavas began, the Daityas, who came there, instigated the Vighnas (malevolent spirits), with Virūpakṣa as their leader and said "Come forward! We shall not tolerate this dramatic performance!" The Vighnas, thereupon, together with the Aśuras, resorted to supernatural power (māya) and paralysed the speech, movement as well as the memory of the actors. The Sūtradhāra (Director), together with his associates, had been rendered senseless and inert.

And in I-100 to 108, Brahman had to placate these Vighnas. He called them and assured them thus: "Give up your anger! I have now re-written my dramas determining the good or ill luck of both of you—gods and daityas—according to your actions,"

Here, Virūpāksha is mentioned as the leader of Vighnas. Even though his name¹ is not one of the four great Vināyakas, mentioned in the 'Mānava-Grihya-Sūtra' and the "Baijavāpi-Grihya" it is one of those of the twenty-four minor demons who were to be propitiated with offerings of meat, fish, wine and cakes in order to prevent the evil influences of vināyakas.

This gives us the first clue to connect, if not identify, the Vighnas with the Vināyakas. Being the leader of the Vighnas. Virūpāksha must be equated with one of the four great Vināyakas. We have to surmise that, just as Gaṇapati and Gaṇeśa were applied to Siva, Indra and Brihaspati, Virūpāksha must also have been an adjective applied to Śiva-Virabhadra, besides being the name of one of the leaders of the Vināyakas.

60. We get confirmation of our surmise from an unexpected source. Dr. Zimmer in his "Art of Indian Asia" (p. 47 of Vol. I)

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- 1 " (In Section 57, we have noted the 'Gaṇeśvara' gesture' as being named 'Dakṣa-Yajña-Vimardini;—the gesture of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice. Why should the name 'Gaṇeśvara' be applied to it if he be not associated with that destruction? We seem to have a clue to the answer to this query in the name 'Devayajana,' given to one of the four Vinayakas. 'Devayajana' must be a mis-script for the word 'Devayajña-hana' (destroyer of the sacrifice of the Gods). 'Usmita' means ferocious, which also correctly describes the character of Virabhadra-Rudra, who destroyed the sacrifice. The term 'Śālaka-taṅkata' again, may signify a person whose hair-tuft is tied upwards. Even the name 'Virūpāksha' has been applied to Śiva in the following daily Sandhya prayer of the Brahmins :

*" Ritam satyam param brahma puruṣam kṛṣṇaṁ piṅgaḥ
Urdhva-retam virūpākṣam viṣvarūpāya vainamah*

All these arguments lead us to the inevitable surmise that the Gaṇeśvara of the Nāṭyaśāstra was none else than Śiva himself, but that the Vināyakas were the Vighnesas not yet unified into one single deity, and that Gaṇapati or Brahaspati was also a different Being altogether from the Vighneśa-Vināyakas. It is also clear that these latter were propitiated with offerings of meat, fish, wine and sweet cakes, (modaka), while Brahaspati was a twice-born (Brahmin) God, propitiated with Vedic hymns (mantras), preceded by Omkāra. The malignant and ferocious character of the former deities was highlighted without even hinting at their benevolence.

tells us that, in the sanctuary of Horyuji in Japan, the Yakṣa Virūpākṣa, (also called *Komuku-ten* = the celestial king Komuku in Japanese), is represented as one of the four godly kings, who guarded the quarters of the world (Dikpālakas of Hindu mythology), and that all the four stand on Yakṣa vehicles (Vāhanas). "The quarters of Komuku-Ten (Virūpākṣa) is the west, *Zorhi-ten* (Virūdhaka) = the lord of gnomes) is the guardian of the south, *Jikoku-ten* (Dhritaraṣṭra = king of the gandharvas) watches the east and *Bishamon-ten* Kubera himself, from whom the Yakṣa vehicles of all the four have been derived) is the master of the north."

61. In the later "*Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*" (I-46-139) Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is described as 'Chaturmukha' (the Four-faced). We have also noticed (in Section 18) a Chaturmukha Gaṇeśa image on the top of a pillar in Ghatiyāla. Its faces look the four cardinal points. Miss Alice Getty declares in her book on 'Gaṇeśa' that such four-faced Gaṇeśa images are very common in Nepal and Indo-China. Dr. R. C. Hazra remarks: "According to the Sūtra works mentioned above, the offerings to be made to these Vināyakas are to be placed at a cross-way (Chatuṣpatha), most probably for the convenience of the Vināyakas. It is highly probable that the four Vināyakas originally presided over the four cardinal points and created various kinds of obstacles, (Vighnas) to the people." ("Gaṇapati worship and the Upapurāṇas" in J. G. J. R. I., Allahabad, Vol. V-part 4, 1948).

Nevertheless in the names of the above-mentioned twenty and odd deities to be propitiated and also in the four Japanese Buddhist Dikpālas, we discover some of the future physical and mental characteristics of Gaṇānana-Gaṇapati,—viz. Vimukha (ugly-faced) Kalaha (quarrelsome), Vināyaka (one who misleads), Virūpākṣa (cross-eyed) Lohitākṣa (bloody-eyed), Jambhaka (having a protruding tooth), Kubera (possessing an uncouth body) Vaiśravaṇa (having broad ears = Sūrpakarna), Virūdhaka (of stunted growth = Vāmana), but never his equation with the Rig-Vedic Lord of hosts (Gaṇapati) nor his elephant head.

62. The next (chronologically) important reference to the term Gaṇeśvara (which could here be equated with Gaṇapati) occurs in the Anuśāsaneeka Parvan of 'The Mahābhārata'

(150-25): "*Īṣvarassarva lokānam gaṇeśvara vināyakah*" (Gaṇeśvara-Vināyakas (plural) control all the worlds). This portion of the epic may not be dated earlier than the 1st or the 2nd century B. C. (Winternitz). But here, for the first time, we obtain evidence for the identity of Gaṇeśvara and the Vināyakas.

[The legend of Gaṇapati being chartered for being the scribe of Vyāsa, when the latter dictated the "*Mahābhārata*" has been discarded by almost all critically-minded scholars as a later interpolation. inserted definitely after the elephantine head had been added, to the older concept of the God, by his later devotees. This may not be earlier than the 4th or the 5th century after Christ.]

63. The self-same 'Yājñavalkya Smṛiti,' which gave us the names of the four Vināyakas, unfolds another revelation to us. It informs us that there is but one Vināyaka known by the four names, and that Brahma appointed him not only to create obstacles but also to assist the virtuous in their attainment of success¹. It tells us further that this one Vināyaka is to lead the gaṇas as Mahāgaṇapati and that his mother was Ambikā. The offerings prescribed for his worship included meat, fish, wine, bulbous roots and modakas. But, by the time of this Smṛiti, the Hindu monistic philosophy had come into vogue (circa 3rd century A.C.)

This last reference thus integrates the concepts of the ferocious and malignant lord of obstacles (Vighneśvara), with those of the leader of chanters (Brihaspati and Gaṇapati), son of Ambikā (Umāsuta), son of Siva (Jyeṣṭha-rāja), fond of sweet cakes (modaka-priya).

1. Vide Section 59, where reference is made to Brahman, who was forced to placate the leader of the Vighnas almost in the same words (Nāṭya śāstra -I-100 to 108 - R. A. S. B. Edition) - Sri Śāṅkara too confirms the above view in his '*Gītā-Bhāṣya*' thus: "*Pretan Bhūtaganānschanyeyajante Tāmasa Janah*" In this text Gaṇapati is referred to as the leader of ghosts and spirits worshipped by the populace.

VI. *Independent Traditions Impacting on these Elements* :

64. *The Evil Eye*: Besides the above-mentioned sources of some of the *elements* of the integrated Gaṇeśa-Vighneśwara cult, there were other forces too impinging on it so as to add more characteristics to this already composite deity. The foremost of them was the eternal and universal superstitious belief in the Evil Eye (Driṣṭi-dosha) and its prevention.

65. In his "*Essay on Envy*," Bacon says: "There are none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or to bewitch but love and envy; they both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions and they come readily into the eye...We see likewise the Scripture calleth envy an Evil Eye."

66. In '*Proverbs*' (XXIII—6) we read :

"Eat thou not the bread of him that had an Evil Eye,
neither desire thou his dainty dishes !"

And, again, in verse 8, it enjoins :

"The morsel thou hast eaten shalt thou vomit up and
lose thy sweet words !"

67. The ancient Greeks called this Evil Eye '*Baskanios*,' from which the Latin word *Facinatio* is derived. The Greek word is traced back to the Chaldaean. Plutarch, from whom Shakespeare copied the idea, refers to the 'lean and hungry look' of Cassius, noted as being 'dangerous' by Julius Caesar. And it did indeed bring about Caesar's assassination.

68. Delrio of Belgium and Frommand of France wrote special treatises on the Evil Eye in the Middle Ages. Queen Elizabeth I of Britain executed in Ireland 'eye-biting witches.' Major (Dr.) H. R. Brown, I. M. S. stated in 1914 that the above belief existed in most European countries—especially in Spain, Portugal and Italy. "An individual," says he in an article in the Q. J. M. S., Bangalore, (1914), "who possesses the Evil Eye is supposed to be capable of 'projecting' or 'shooting out' the power of evil on animate and inanimate objects. Important people, such as kings, statesmen, etc., who, by virtue of their

position, are exposed to the gaze of crowds, are considered to be specially liable to the danger of 'fascination,' because of the envy they excite. Even images and temples of gods are not exempt from it. Beautiful women, especially when pregnant, young and attractive children and animals, trees laden with fruits, crop-bearing fields, houses under construction, persons about to get married and many such are the usual victims of the Evil Eye... Case studies have revealed that it produces a general feeling of malaise, langour, loss of appetite, loss of interest in life, and a general wasting of the body. The body is racked with flaying pains, the mind loses its vigour and the victim suffers from nervousness, loss of sleep and frequent twittering of the limbs, both when awake and asleep. Added to these, there may be perversion of taste, so that food and drink become nauseous. The sense of smell may also be perverted and the wretched victim is constantly distressed, being conscious of evil odours when none really exist. As has already been mentioned, animals, crops and houses can be damaged and destroyed by the glance more dangerously than human beings."

Without having any knowledge of the 'Mānava-Grihya-Sūtra,' the above Doctor almost echoes the evil influences of the Vināyakas.

68. When an object becomes the most admired and adored of all others by a devoted multitude, it is most likely to attract the envy of hundreds of people. And when such adorations by the multitude continue periodically for a long time, giving more opportunities for the other envious elements also to see them, the combined envy of all of them take concrete shape in the form of an organised attempt to destroy the object itself. That was why history had witnessed hundreds of assassinations of the great leaders of men. The assassin, though a human being, is certainly the embodied spirit of Envy or the Evil Eye. Primitive man, unable to understand the workings of such great psychological forces of nature, endowed them with demoniac attributes and looked upon them with great awe. He worshipped and propitiated them. Sacrifices were made to please these "spirits" or deities. Certain animals and cooked food became inseparably associated with them and so became sacred to these deities. Early Indian folklorists and mythologists called them Vināśakās (destroyers) or,

Vināyakas (those who cannot endure the sight of a Nāyaka or leader), because even gods were not exempt from the effects of their Evil Eye.

69. *Driṣṭi-dosa*: Driṣṭi-doṣa was the term by which more sophisticated Indians had identified the Evil Eye. The authors of the '*Mānava Grihya Sūtra*' and other texts, who had named the multiple Evil Eye as Vināyakas (vide Section 53), did not invent or discover them, but only recorded the traditional beliefs, current among the primitive folk of India, in such a manner as could be understood by their receptors.

70. *Antidotes, Talismans and Effigies*: The effects of this Evil Eye being so mischievous, means had to be found to counteract it. The *Atharva Veda* being a repository of all such beliefs and remedies, prescribes many charms against it. The wood of the Tilaka tree, the Gangida plant, the metal lead, and a string of three threads made of gold, silver and iron are four of them. Other popular preventives are the boar's tusk, tiger-claws, crescent-moon symbol, the conch, the monkey-symbol, coral, beads, swastika or cross marks, a tuft of hair pinned up to a pole, a painted ashground or pumpkin, and offering a blood sacrifice. In course of time many of these got stylized or substituted by their symbols. Thus the crescent-moon was substituted by a horse-shoe, the blood-spilling by breaking wine-bottles or coconuts or by sprinkling coloured water (Ārati) etc. Besides these, the outstretched palm of the hand and the hand-bell are other antidotes against the Evil Eye. The former of these two became later on in Hindu iconography and abhinaya Śāstra, the well-known *Abhaya-hasta*, and the latter a preliminary ritual in Hindu Pūjas as per all Āgams Śāstras. The following tell-tale text betrays the latter's folklore origin:— "*Āgamārtham tu devānām gamanārthnam tu rakṣasām ganthanādam karomiyadya devatahvāna lāñchanam* [To call for the gods and drive away the demons, I sound this bell, which is the signal for the invitation of the gods.]

71. But the commonest of such antidotes was the use of an amulet or talisman. It is called 'thāyathu' in Tamil, from the Urdu word 'Thawaz'. *Kavacha* is its Sanskrit equivalent. Its dictionary meaning is: "Some object worn as a remedy for, or

a preservative against, disease, bad luck, accidents and witch-craft, which may consist of certain stones, or plants, or bits of metal, parchment or paper with or without mystic characters or words. They are suspended from the neck or affixed to some part of the body."

72. Dr. Brown quotes one Mr. Elworthy, as an authority on the above subject :-

"We must ever bear in mind that it was, and continues to be, believed that the *first glance* of the Evil Eye was the most fatal, and, therefore, it was of the utmost importance that any object, intended to protect against its influence, should be such as could attract the *first or fatal stroke*: for, it was just as firmly held that whatever diverted it for the moment from the person or animal liable to injury, absorbed and so destroyed its effect. Anything, therefore, calculated to excite the curiosity, the mirth, or in any way to attract the attention of the beholder, was considered to be most effectual. There were three methods generally accepted for averting "*facination*". These were, by exciting laughter, or curiosity; by demonstration of good fortune, so as to excite envy in the beholder and so as to draw his evil eye upon the object so displayed; and by doing something painfully disagreeable to cause him an unpleasant feeling of dread. Plutarch, in a remarkable passage, declares that the objects that are fixed up to ward off witch-craft or the evil eye, derive their efficacy from the fact that they act through the *strangeness* and *ridiculousness* of their forms, which fix the mischief-working eye upon themselves."

73. Amulets and talismans are usually worn on the person of a would-be victim over a prominent part of his or her body. But when the would-be victim happens to be a group of persons, a big building, a monument, a pleasure garden, a beautiful lake, a vast area of cornfields, a national or communal festival, a public sacrifice or a performing art, their use has to be extended and their size considerably enlarged, so as to readily attract the first fatal glance of the Evil Eye.

74. Ancient sculptures, engraved with such grotesque and terrible figures as a roaring lion's head with snakes hanging from

or entwining the manes, or a rampant lion, open-mouthed, but also having an elephant's proboscis hanging from its nose, are common exhibits in museums all over the world. These were extensively used in ancient Babylonia, Crete, Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. Some of those nations were using these motifs in their masks too.

It is also a well-known fact that few things excite the curiosity so much as anything obscene or indecent. Hence the profuse use of provocative postures of apsarases, tree-goddesses, and nude mithuna couples at strategic points of ancient stūpas at Sāñchi, Bārḥūt and Mathura, and of the medieval Hindu temples at Konārak, Khajuraho. Bhuvaneśvar, Pūri, Belūr and other places.

75. Other objects of striking appearance are used on houses and cornfields. In Malabar a very common figure used is that of a monkey with pendulous tests, or that of a woman with bagpipe-like hanging breasts. In the fields, a pot painted black or white with large spots on it, or a big-sized ash-gourd (kūshmāṇḍa-rāja) with the head of an open-mouthed, red-tongued demon painted on it, is used all over South India. [The smaller variety of green-gourd is called Kūshmāṇḍa by Āyurvedic physicians, while the bigger ash-coloured one is called 'Kūshmāṇḍa-rāja.' Putra and Putrika means a puppet, or a doll, or an effigy. Hence 'Kūshmāṇḍa-rāja-putra' means an effigy a large sized ash-gourd].

Mr. E. Thurston, in his "Ethnographic Notes of Southern India" remarks, "Similar objects have been seen from the railway on the journey to Meṭṭupālayam. In Madras, human figures are also placed on buildings under construction." Visitors and pilgrims to Tirupati are puzzled at the extraordinary sight of huge oversized 'Nāmams' painted in white and red on the faces of the Chief Deity and the dvārapālakas, even completely overshadowing their otherwise well-shaped eyes. These Nāmams disturb the minds of all pilgrims even before they enter the sanctum sanctorum, and thereby act as charms against the Evil Eye. But disfigurement of the Chief Deity is an instance of the fence itself devouring the crops!

Kīrtimukhas and Yaṭis :

76. The use of hideous masks as protectives is fairly ancient and widespread in India also. On the exteriors of temples and chariots, these objects can be seen. Indian iconographic treatises have named them as 'Kīrtimukhas.' They occur in the porticos, gopuras, domes (vimānas) and facades of almost all mediaeval and modern monuments. Specimens of such figures have been collected from places far apart as Peru, Greece, India, Indonesia and even Tahiti in Polynesia.

77. Various legends and myths about the origins of these Kīrtimukhas' occur in Indian architectural and iconographic treatises (śilpa-śāstras). Dr. H. Zimmer, in his "Myths and Symbols of Indian Art and Civilization." [Bollingen Series VI- (1943) Harvard, U.S.A.], declares : "The origin of this mask—this so called Kīrtimukha—is Indian." He then narrates the following myth from the "Skānda-purāṇa," (Vol. II. Viṣṇukāṇḍa-Kārtika-māsa-māhātmya—Chapter 17)—a work going back at least to the 7th century A.C.

When the demon Jalandhara, by his asceticism (Tapas), became overlord of the Universe, he sent his assistant, *Rāhu*, as messenger to Śiva-Rudra, demanding the immediate surrender of Pārvati (Śiva's spouse) to him. Rudra's resentment at this impudence issued forth as a hungry, roaring, lion-headed being from his third eye and was about to devour Rāhu; when the latter fell at Śiva's feet begging pardon. The ever-merciful God granted him refuge. But the wrathful Being, which had issued out of Śiva, demanded satisfaction of its hunger. The great God commanded it at once to eat its own body from the feet upwards. It promptly obeyed and consumed everything below its head. Yet its hunger was not satisfied and it demanded Rāhu himself to be handed over to it. He accepted its challenge and ordered Rāhu to enter its mouth and come out through its throat. This he did and has been doing so repeatedly during solar and lunar eclipses ever since. [This is this writer's own synopsis of Zimmer's long narrative.]

Dr. Zimmer remarks : "Embodied in that monster was the wrath (Rudra) of the Supreme Being.....who, under the form of Rudra (the Roarer), periodically annihilates the created universe.

Hence the fantastic spectacle was a dear sight to the God and one with which He was in essential agreement. He said: 'Thou art my beloved son, in whom I am well-pleased!' He smiled upon that creature and benignantly declared: "You will be known henceforth as '*Kīrtimukha*' and I ordain that you shall abide for ever at my door. Whoever neglects to worship you shall never win my grace!" (Ibid.)

78. "Kīrtimukha was (at first) a special emblem of Śiva himself and characteristic element on the lintels of Śiva temples. Presently, then, the 'Face' began to be used indiscriminately on various parts of Hindu shrines as an auspicious device to ward off evil. Kīrtimukha appears also in Śiva's crown of matted hair. It developed into an ornamental finial for the upper decoration of images and thence came to figure at the summit of the aureole (*prabhā-maṇḍala*) at the back of images. Like the Gorgon's head in the tradition of the Greeks, Kīrtimukha serves primarily as an *apatropaic*—preventing atrophy or wasting disease.—demon-mask, a gruesome, awe-inspiring guardian of the threshold. The votary, however, knows that (it) is a sign and agent of His (Rudra's) protective fiend-destroying wrath" (Ibid.).

79. Some orientalists equate this Kīrtimukha with the Greek Gorgon's Head and believe that the motif must have come to India along with the Greco-Baktrian art. But all Kīrtimukhas have, instead of a woman's head, a lion's head, bulging eyes, open mouth and hanging tongue, displaying all its fierce fangs and teeth. In some of them we notice a projecting beak-like nose, [There are a few having even an elephant's proboscis (instead of the beak) which it holds with its lion's claws. In this last type, the whole lion's body is shown in a rampant attitude; and it is called '*Yāli*' and not Kīrtimukha. We shall revert to this Yāli motif also presently.]

80. But all this does not satisfactorily explain the connotation of the prefix 'Kīrti.' Its ordinary meaning is 'glory' and Zimmer translates it as 'The Face of Glory.' There is no rationality in such a meaning. There is, however, another rare usage of the word, connoting 'loud noise' or roar or sound. As all Kīrtimukhas are not mere lion-faces, but fierce open-mouthed

roaring lion-faces, the prefix Kīrti seems to be aptly chosen. A lion's face with its mouth closed is not Kīrtimukha.

[In Hindu mythology, Rāhu is regarded as the son of Simhikā, and rightly can he claim to be so, as he repeatedly goes in and comes out of this lion-mouthed Kīrtimukha.]

Kīrtimukha, Yālī and Gajānana :

81. We have been trying so far to explain the talismanic purpose behind the motif of Kīrtimukha. Let us now try whether this motif had anything to do with our Vighneśvara-Vināyaka.

Dr. Zimmer, in his monumental work "The Art of Indian Asia," (Vol. I—plate 12-B—Boling Series XXXIX, Pantheon Books, U. S. A.), has published two photographs of a Vighneśvara (dated A. D. 1239), hailing from Kediri in Eastern Java. They are the front and the back views of a *single* stone image. The front view shows an elephant-headed, seated Vighneśvara, while its back-view displays the maned hairy head of an open-mouthed Kīrtimukha. (We have already noticed this image in Section 43).

Zimmer says: "We here see a Javanese development of the idea that when Vighneśvara, the 'Lord of obstacles,' turns his back, disaster falls. This is an imaginative, really powerful rendition of a motif *that is implicit* in the concept of this God, and yet on the Indian mainland, there has not been found any image of Gaṇeśa expressing this idea in a manner at once so ornamental and forceful." (Ibid) (*Italics ours*).

82. In the above remarks Zimmer has rightly, but unconsciously, revealed a hitherto un-noticed fact. What is it in that Gaṇeśa image that is "a motif implicit in the concept of this god?" If disaster is to fall when he *turns his back*, the "implicit motif" must be that the very sight of his *frontal image* is a remover of disaster and evil. That was exactly the talismanic function of the Kīrti-mukha too—to serve as an antidote to the Evil Eye (Dṛiṣṭi-parihāra). Dr. Zimmer has, therefore, narrowly missed to discover in the double-faced Javanese image the actual identity of the Gajānana and the Kīrti-mukha motifs. Both were intended to avert the disastrous effects of the Evil Eye on monuments, tanks, temples, gopuras, vimānas, palaces and parks.

We will presently explain in a subsequent section why the lion-faced symbol was substituted by an elephant-headed human-bodied god.

83. Dr. Zimmer has, further, rightly emphasised the wrathful 'roaring' aspect of Rudra-Śiva in the 'Kīrtimukha.' The Purāṇic legend behind it also explains allegorically that the 'roaring' mouth had devoured its own body—indicating thereby clearly that it represents the unembodied Primordial Sound or Ōmkāra, (Nāda-Brahmam) without a corporal or physical substance. It was also asserted by Rudra Śiva, "Thou are my beloved son!" And that Omkāra or Nāda-Brahma was the first Being (Jyeshṭha-suta) to evolve out of the Primordial Couple Soma (Sa + Umā = He, with Umā) or Sāmba (Sa + Ambā = He with Ambā). Greek philosophy equated that Being with 'Logos' and the fourth Gospel of St. John with 'The Word.'

84. The Yāli motif, about which we had mentioned in Section 79, was an intermediate stage of development in between the Gajānana (elephant-head) and the Kīrtimukha (lion-face) concepts. In this motif we have the rampant lion, roaring with his fangs open, but possessing an elephantine proboscis, protruding from the lion's nose and the claws of the lion's two fore-limbs holding that hanging proboscis. These Yālis are usually placed on either side of the entrance to any temple or monument. It is too common a feature of Indian architecture and sculpture to need further description. The purpose of these figures too is the same as that of the Kīrtimukhas.¹

85. *The Vidūshaka of the 'Nāṭya-śāstra'* :- Let us now revert to the 'Nāṭyaśāstra' of Bharata (c. 2nd century B.C. to C. 1st century A.C.). Even though Bharata enumerates a number of character types occurring in a drama, he gives primacy to but

1. We have a similar Driṣṭi-parihara charm in the Daruma dolls of Japan, named after the 7th century Buddhist monk of that name. It is made with a round weighted bottom and always comes back upright, no matter which way it is placed. Its oversized round eyes are blank white without pupils. With its upturned whiskered moustache, it looks like the bust of a person covered over with the robes of a monk—a ludicrous incongruity! This doll is called 'Tanjavur Bommai' in Tamil Nadu.

three of them—viz. the hero (nāyaka), the heroine (Nāyikā) and the jester (vidūshaka). In mentioning the names of the respective guardian angels protecting the various actors of characters of a play, he says:—

*“Nāyakam rakṣati indrastu, Nāyikam tu sarasvatī
Vidūṣakam athomkaraḥ Seṣastu prakritir haraḥ*

(I. 96. RASB edition p. 13)

“Let Indra protect the hero, Sarasvati the heroine, Omkāra the Vidūshaka and Hara (Śiva) the rest of the actors”—

From the above verse, we notice not only the importance. Bharata gives to the actor who assumes the role of the Vidūshaka, but also the peculiar name ‘Omkāra’ of his guardian angel. Who is this Omkāra?

86. Before answering this query, let us know something more about this Vidūshaka. Bharata describes the make-up of his physical features as follows:—

*“Vamano danturah kubjo, dvijanma vikritānanah
Khalatih piṅgalakṣhaśca sa vijñeyo vidūṣakah*

(Bombay Edn. XXIV - 106 - Banars Edn. XXXV. 57).

“Dwarfish, of protruding tooth (singular), hunch-backed, twice-born, uncouth-faced, bald-headed, and of yellowish red-eyes—such is the Vidūshaka recognized”.

In another context, where the character of Vidūshaka in general is discussed, Bharata describes it thus:

*“Sā ca vikrita, paraveśālamkara, ghāṣṭam
Laulya, kuhaka, asatpralāpa, vyaṅga darśana,
Doṣodāharanādibhiḥ vibhavaḥ udṇadyate”*

“With misfitting dress and ornaments of another person, audacious, fickle, grumbling, indecently prattling, exhibiting physical deformities, fault-finding etc. are linked the sources (vibhavas) of laughter.”

87. Vikāṣa is another more popular word applied to Vidūshaka. Its dictionary meanings are:—“hideous, ugly,

horrible, savage, fierce. spacious, frowning, and appearing in another person's garb". Its basic ingredient is 'Kaṭa', which, besides its older meaning of an elephant's head, connotes a hip or the side of the body between the chest and the abdomen. 'Vikata', therefore, conveys the sense of a person possessing an uncouth hip or no hip—possessing an abdomen overshadowing the hip.

On the Tamil stage of the mediaeval period, the vikaṭa was called '*Toppai-k-kūttāḍi*' which means a pot-bellied actor, which may be equated with the term 'lambodara' (he with a hanging belly). '*Tonti*' is another Tamil word conveying the same sense of pot-belly. It is a derivative of the Sanskrit word '*Tundi* or '*Tuṇḍi* which also means, 'Pot-belly'. And a pot-belly overshadowing the hips of its owner is '*Vakratuṇḍi*'.

Besides the above meaning, 'kaṭa' has also the rare sense of an elephant's forehead. *Sala-kaṭam-kaṭa* may connote an Elephant under a tall (banian) tree, and *Vikaṭa* may, therefore, mean a person with the crooked head of an elephant.]

88. In their '*Nāṭya-Darpaṇa*' (A. D. 12th century), Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra explain the significance of the term '*Vidūṣhaka*' thus :-

*"Sandhim vighraṇa, Vighraṇa sandhinā ca
Viśeṣena duṣayanti vinaśayanti
Vipralambantu vinodadānena
Vismarayanti iti vidūṣakah*

(IV—168 - "*Nāṭya Darpaṇa*")

"The *Vidūṣakas* are (so called) because they greatly complicate (*dūṣayanti*), or terminate (*vinaśayanti*), the Union (of lovers) with quarrel and their quarrel with union, but make (the heroes) forget (the pangs of) separation by yielding diversions."

89. The "*Bhāvaprakāśana*" of Śāradaṇaya (C. 13th century A.C.), besides suggesting '*Maudgalya*' as one of the

fitting names that could be given to the character of Vidūshaka in a play, describes his characteristics thus : (10th Adhi-kāra)

“ Vedavit narmavedi yo netum sa syād vidūṣakah ”

Khalatih piṅgalakṣasca hāsyānūka vibhūṣitah

Pingakeśo harismasrur nartakaśca vidūṣakah ”

“ Vidūshaka is a Vedic scholar and leader of those proficient in the art of fun-making.”

“ With his baldness, tawny eyes, laughter-provoking costumes and decorations, brownish hair and beard and proficiency in dancing, he is Vidūshaka.”

90, These late texts are quoted to confirm the original concept of the Vidūshaka of Bharata. Our surmise is that the character of Vidūshaka served the same purpose in a dramatic performance (Nāṭya) as that of the Kirtimukha, Vighneśvara-Gajānana and other talismans in art and architecture. The following well-known synonyms of Gaṇapati aptly describe the Vidūṣaka's physical and other characteristics :

*“ Prathamam vakratuṇḍamca, ekadantam Dvītiyakam,
Tritiyam kṛiṣṇapiṅgakṣam, gajavaktram caturthakam,
Lambodaram paṇcamanḥa. ṣaṣṭham vikaṭameva ca,
Saptamam vighnarājam ca dhūmravarṇam tathāṣṭakam,
Navamam bhālacandramca, daśamantū gajānanam,
Ekādaśam gaṇapatim, dvādaśantū, vināyakam ”*

“ Firstly Vakra-tuṇḍa (of distorted belly), secondly Ekadanta (of a protruding tooth), thirdly Kṛiṣṇapiṅgakṣa (reddish tawny eyes), fourthly Gajavaktra (elephant faced), fifthly, Lambodara (pot-bellied), sixthly Vikaṭa (having distended hips), seventhly Vighnarāja (king of obstructors), eighthly Dhūmravarṇa (dark-red complexioned), ninthly Bhālachandra (moon-crested), tenthly Gajānana (elephant-headed), eleventhly Gaṇapati (leader of a troupe) and twelfthly Vināyaka (misleader).”

When the “ Nāṭya darpaṇa ” refers to the Vidūṣakas as “ Dūṣayanti, Vināṣayanti,” we are even tempted to equate the

word Vināyaka with 'Vināśaka.' Even Saṅkara uses the word in his stotra on 'Gaṇapati' thus :

*"Mudā karatta modakam sadā vimukti sādhakam
Kala dharavatamaśakam vilāsi loka rakshakam
Anāyakaika nāyakam vināśitebha daityakam,
Nata subhāṣunāśakam namāmi tam vināyakam"*

And the name 'Maudgalya,' suggested by the "Bhāva-prakāśana," is a tell tale one. The sage Mudgala is supposed to be the narrator of the "Mudgala Purāṇa," an Upapurāṇa devoted to the cult of Gaṇapati. The "Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa" also refers to Mudgala as the progenitor of the cult. Other texts too confirm the above attribution of authorship. If, therefore, the Vidūshaka is to be called a 'Maudgalya,' (descendent of Mudgala), and if he is to be protected by 'Omkāra,' can we not reasonably assume that he was conceived originally as a living symbol of Omkāra-Vināyaka-Vigbheśa?

91. Lastly, the term 'Vināyaka' itself conveys etymologically the same connotation as 'Vidūshaka,' defined by 'Nāṭya darpaṇa.' 'Nāyaka' itself is a technical theatrical term for the Leader of the action in a drama, equivalent to the Aristotelian Greek term *Protagonist*. 'Pratināyaka' is applied to his opponent or the villain, equated with 'the antagonist' But who could be 'Vināyaka,' who was neither 'hero' nor 'villain?' According to the definitions given by Bharata, Rāmachandra, Śāradātanaya and others, the character Vidūshaka is both Vikritanāyaka (truncated leader), and Dūṣhaṇa-nāyaka (complicating leader), and they are synonymous with Vināyaka (or Vināśaka),—he who leads the action of the play towards the necessary element of *complication* and the Pratināyakas towards conflict.

92. 'Modaka' or the Sweet cake: We have stated, even in the opening para of this paper, that "modaka" or the sweet cake, is an indispensable offering to Gaṇeśa. Etymologically this word is a derivative of 'modah,' meaning joy or mirth and also perfume or fragrance. And modaka, therefore, can connote 'that which gives mirth or fragrance—(viz. a merriment-maker). But by usage, it has come to mean any sweet-meat in general or any

sweet-smelling flower. In Tamil Nāḍu and other South Indian states, it is applied to a kind of sweet cake, called '*Koḷukkattai*,' which is a sugared dhal-ball, covered over with a thin layer of rice dough, both of them baked in steam. In Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt, it has come to mean '*Laḍḍuka*' or laḍḍu, made of Bengal gram flour, ghee, sugar and spices. This sweet-meat is believed to be the favourite dish of the God Gaṇapati. Various speculations on and explanations about its inner significance have been offered by theologians, symbolists and poets. Without attempting to analyse the correctness or otherwise of these explanations, it is perfectly possible to trace the history of this so-called symbol. We have already noticed in an earlier para that this commodity has been mentioned in the earlier '*Gṛhya-sūtras*,' alongside of meat, fish and wine, as a suitable offering to the Vināyakas. But it seems, however, to have ousted the non-vegetarian dishes, when Vighneśa came to be equated with the (dvijanma) 'twice-born' seer, Brihaspati-Gaṇapati. The carnivorous lion-mask of Kīrtimukha was converted into the vegetarian elephant-head symbol. Kīrtimukha, was also converted into a *ludicrously* comic icon of Gajānana (elephant-headed god).

This modaka, however, had already become a popular sweet among the Brahmins. Even though Bharata has not mentioned anything about it, almost all the classical dramatists from Bhāsa, to Rājaśekhara have used this modaka as the favourite dish of their Jesters (Vidūshakas.)

93. Disguised as Brahmachāri (bachelor) Vasantaka, the jester, in Bhāsa's '*Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*' (C. 1st or 2nd century A. C.), enters the scene with a basketful of modakas and even the heroine Padmāvati gives him some more.

Mānavaka, in Kālidāsa's '*Vikramorvaśiyam*' (C. 4th century A. C.) receives a panful of modakas from Queen Aushīnari. In another place, he exclaims: "Here rises the king of the Brahmins—I mean the moon—as charming as a modaka!" ('*Eṣa khaṇḍa candrika udito rāja dvijātīnam!*'). (Vikramorvasiyam VI 6.1)

Maitreya, in the 'Mritchakatika' laments thus about his friend Chārudatta's poverty :—

*"Charudattasya riddhaya ahorātram prayatna
Siddhaih udgara surabhi sugandhibhir Modakaih!"*

"When Chārudatta was a rich man, I used to feed daily on the most deliciously fragrant modakas, prepared with great care."

And, again,

*"Badhyante modakāh! pacyante apūpakāh!
Apidānim iha varddhitam bhunkṣva iti*

(Mritchakatika - IV—27—63—70).

"Here are modakas rounded up, and cakes fried! Who is there to invite me, saying, "Here they are! Eat them!"

Vasantaka, the Jester in Sri Harsha's "*Ratnāvalī*", gets his belly filled with modakas given by Vāsavadattā.

Similar references occur in many other later dramas—all associated with their Vidūṣhakas, who are always depicted as gluttonous Brāhmins (Bhojanapriya) or as "*Naṭasya Bhuktam*".

94. Drama treatises recommend that the Vidūṣhaka may be given the name of a season (vasantaka) or a sweet-smelling flower, besides Maudgalya and Maitreya. Thus the names 'Kumuda-Gandha', 'Makaranda' etc. occur. We have stated at the beginning of the last section (92) that the word 'Modaka' itself connotes 'a giver of delight or joy'—a jester—and also "any sweet-smelling flower". Thus the intimate relationship between 'Modaka' and 'Vidūṣhaka' is not only etymological, but also associated with characterisation.

95. As we have already proved the identity of purposes behind the Gaṇeśa, Kīrtimukha and Vidūṣhaka motifs in Sections 85 to 91, and as the modaka was a favourite sweet-meat of the Brahmin vegetarian Vidūṣhaka, will we be far wrong if we draw the conclusion that the later integrated, re-organised cult of 'Gāṇāpatyam' absorbed many of its characteristic elements, including the modaka offering, from the Vidūṣhaka-Vikāṭa of the

classical Indian stage, the Vināyakas of the Srāuta-sūtra, the folk-lore superstition of dṛiṣṭi-doshā, and the Omkāra philosophy of the Upanishad? It must not be forgotten, however, that these borrowings and absorptions of elements did not at all annihilate their original sources which continued to flourish side by side, even though they too were not uninfluenced to some extent by their impacts with the cult of the borrower too.

VII. *Mutual Impacts of these Elements :*

96. *The Gajānana Concept and 'Gaṇāpatyam' :* In this and the following sections an attempt will be made to find out when and how the carnivorous fish-and-meat-eating lion-faced demon Kirtimukha-Vināyaka acquired the head as well as the characteristics of the vegetarian elephant and he became a twice-born (dvijanma) Brāhmin, with a Yājñopavīta (sacred thread) on. As the above process of integration of several cult-elements into one multiple personality of 'Gaṇapati-Gajānana' must have been necessarily slow and evolutionary, we think it necessary to extend our survey of post-Nāṭyaśāstra theological literature upto the post-Saṅkara epoch of the Śaṅmata Hinduism. The following are a few of the hundreds of extant Sāṅskṛit texts, compiled after the Christian era, that contain valuable information about the Ganapati cult (Gaṇāpatyam) :—

1. The Mudgala Purāṇa
2. The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa
3. The Matsya Purāṇa
4. The Varāha Purāṇa
5. The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa
6. The Skānda Purāṇa
7. The Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa
8. The Vāmana Purāṇa
9. The Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa
10. The Garuḍa Purāṇa
11. The Agni Purāṇa
12. The Liṅga Purāṇa
13. The Kāncī Purāṇa

14. The Bodhāyana-Grihya-Sesha-S'ūtra
15. The Bodhāyana Dharmaśāstra
16. The Nārāyaṇopaniṣad
17. The Atharvaśīrshopaniṣad
18. The Gaṇapati Tāpaniyōpaniṣad
19. The Gaṇapati Gīta and
20. The Gaṇapati Sahasranāma

97. Among the above later texts, the 'Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa' (11-105) confirms the older belief that the Vināyakas were originally four in number, but integrated into one single entity. But in the Anuvāka of the 'Nārāyaṇopaniṣad,' (between 550 and 900 A D), there is a three-footed hymn on Gaṇapati, (Gaṇapati Gāyatrī):

*"Tatpuruṣāya vidmahe
Vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi
Tanno danti pracodayat"*

In this Gāyatrī, the deity is described as Vakra-tuṇḍa (having a curved belly or a distorted head) and Danti (one having a tusk or tooth).

The 'Atharva-śīrshopaniṣad' explains 'Vakratuṇḍa' as a truncated face and remarks that, as Gaṇapati destroys with his 'face' all allurements of the world, emanating from the Intellect (Buddhi) and Power (Siddhi), he is called Vakratuṇḍi. This reminds us of the allegory of the myth behind the origin of the Kīrtimukha, where the latter is said to be always devouring the Intellect (Rāhu) deputed by the demoniac Power (Jalandhara).

If, however, 'Vakra' is interpreted in the astronomical sense of 'moving back-wards,' Vakratuṇḍi may mean one having a face in his back, which reminds us of the Javanese image of Gaṇeśa, having a Kīrtimukha face in its rear-side. It may also mean 'Dvimukha'—two-faced—like the god Janus of the Romans and the Makara-Sankrāntipurusha of the Hindu almanac-compilers.

These references, however, do not help us much in determining the rationale or the age of the Elephant-head in Gaṇeśa,

except some veiled hints about the existence of the form during their respective epochs.

98. Perhaps the earliest extant reference to the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa occurs in the '*Gāthā-Sapta-śati*' of Hālā Śatavāhana of about the 1st century after Christ, where [(IV-72) and (V-3)] the poets speak of the image of Gaṇapati with the elephant's trunk.

99. "The *Bodhayana-Grihya-Śesha-Sūtra*" (III-10) and "The *Bodhayana Dharma Śastra*" (II-5-83-90) mention rites of propitiation of such deities as Vighna, Vināyaka, Vīra, Sthūla, Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara, the Vighna-pārshadas and the Vighna-pārshadīs,—all independent deities, though everyone of these names, without exception, happen to be synonyms of the later Mahāgaṇapati himself. Apparently this appears to be a concept older than the integrated Gaṇapati concept. But Dr. Hazra, to whose monograph on "Gaṇapati worship" I am indebted for this information and reference, remarks: "It is not safe to allocate this '*Bodhayana-Grihya-Śesha-Sūtra*' a date contemporaneous with Bodhayana or even with Hālā. It may perhaps be even later than the latter."

100. The '*Amarakośa*' of Amarasimha, the '*Bṛhatsamhita*' of Varāhamihira, '*Nāṭacharita*' of Harṣa and the '*Daśi-Kumāra-charita*' of Daṇḍin—all refer to the elephant-head of Gaṇapati, but they are all centuries later than the "*Gāthā-Sapta-śati*". We can, therefore, safely assume that the Gajānana (elephant-head) concept of the Gaṇapati image must have come into existence sometime between the 1st century before and the 1st century after Christ.

101. Let us now look at this problem from a negative standpoint. The most conspicuous feature of Gaṇapati-worship is the precedence given to him over all the other gods of the Hindu pantheon, and also the dogma that all auspicious functions and rites must be preceded by his worship. If this tradition be pre-vedic, or at least co-eval with the Vedas, we must have concrete examples of such prayers. But we have them not. On the other hand, the chantings of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads and other sacred texts began with the uttering of the

sacred syllable "Om." The Sūtras, Smritis, the epics, the purāṇas, the śāstras, and the Vyākaraṇas, as also the works of authors like Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Sūdraka and all their successors upto the 8th or the 9th century A. C., begin with prayers addressed to a variety of Hindu and Buddhist deities other than Gaṇapati.

There are some Drāviḍologists who try to discover a Dravīdian or even a proto-Dravīdian origin to this Gaṇapati cult. But the conspicuous absence of any laudatory verse on him at the beginning of any of the extant Saṅgam literature of the Tamils—'Tolkāppiyam,' the 'Eight Anthologies,' and the epics like the 'Sulappadhikāram,' 'Maṇimekhalai' and others—negatively clinches the issue.

This factor leads us further to deduce that the tradition of giving primacy to a prayer on Gaṇeśa in all literary undertakings did not originate in Tamil-speaking areas before the 6th or the 7th century after Christ.

102. Wherefrom and when, then, did this Gajānana motif emanate? Even though we have arrived at the conclusion that the Gajānana concept had come into vogue some time before the 1st century after Christ, we have not been able to pick out from any literature or theology, or philosophical treatise any definite text explaining the origin of the concept.

103. There is, however, one very curious and apparently puerile myth, humanised and elaborated in the '*Matsya-purāṇa*,' which is placed by the consensus of scholarly opinion in circa 3rd century after Christ or a little earlier.

Śakti (the Primordial Goddess) gathered the dirt off herself and placed it as a gate-keeper of her residence. When her husband, Śiva (the Primordial God), entered the place, he was obstructed by that speechless obstacle (Vighna). Śiva at once clinched off its top portion, not knowing who or what it was. Learning the truth later from his spouse, he fetched a head of an elephant, which had been sleeping with its head to the north and fixed it on the beheaded being. Thus was born Gajānana, the first-born son of Śiva and Śakti. Śiva bestowed on this new being the boon of first worship,

This seemingly puerile legend is but an allegory. The dirt-born speechless Being was the gross, illusory material of the Universe (Mahāmāya), but without the element of the Primordial Sound, (Vāk or the Logos), or 'Praṇavam' (Divine Wisdom).

"Sarvam vyaktam umārūpam"

["All that is manifest are Uma or Śakti."]

*"Manastvam, Vyomastvam, Marudasi,
Marutsarasirasi tvam āpah tvam bhūmih"*

(*'Soundaryalahari* of Śaṅkara)

["The mind, the sky, the wind, the fire,
Waters and the earth are all Thyself !"]

The elephant's head, with a single tusk, gifted by Śiva to the Universe, is the Vāk or Speech (or Praṇava)—the Omkāra-Nāda-Brahmam.—[We have already referred to a similar myth occurring in the later 'Kāñchī-Purāṇa' in section 41]. The pictographic symbol of the letter *AUM* of the alphabet is an elephant-head with but a single tusk. If the two tusks are inserted in the pictograph, [which is a profile of an elephant facing our right side], the letter becomes *OOM* and not *AUM*. Thus the new Being, created by Śakti and Śiva, became their eldest son (Jyeshṭha)—born without their losing their reproductive energies (Brahmacharya).

*"Sriṣṭvā śaktimaho śivah parasivā sriṣṭva sivam tavajau
Dāmpatyam samavāpya visvajanakau bhūtvā tayoh kridatoḥ
Śaktissāhi Kumārikā paraśivo devo vrati sarvada
Vrittasyasya rahasyam adbhutam asyadya vijānantihi"*

"Śivam created Śakti, Śakti created Śivam;—Neither of these had a birth. They are husband and wife and brought forth this universe also for their amusement. Śakti, however, is an eternal virgin and Para-Śiva is an eternal bachelor. The ancients (sages) only could understand the mystry of this great paradox."

104. There is another myth occurring in the '*Skanda purāṇa*' and retold by 'Sāṅkara-Kīṅkara' in the Souvenir of the 'Sāṅkara-Shaṅmata Conference', (1969), (Madras):

"Mother Parāśakti, the Power of the Absolute, was enjoying the Chitraśālā (Picture gallery) in Kailāsa. Her eyes were pitched on the letter AUM, written at the centre of the gallery. When this sign of the Primordial Sound was sighted by Parāśakti, the letter itself, which resembled a tusker with a crescent on it, assumed the resplendent divine form of Gaṇapati, donning the crescent on his head."

105. Here at last is the mystery of the elephant-head unravelled. It is a pictographic representation of the sacred letter AUM, which again is the audible symbol of Praṇava or Nāda-Brahman; the Primordial offspring of Śiva and Śakti.

This explains the rationale of the Vidūshaka, the twiceborn Jester being under the protection of 'Omkāra'. This also explains how the demoniac Vināyakas and Vighneśas, who were delighting in fish, meat and wine, being elevated to the caste of the vegetarian modaka-loving-twice-born (dvija) Brāhmin. And, again this does not militate against the allegorical significance of the open-mouthed, lion-face of the 'Kīrtimukha', which was also the 'Omkāra' as well as the son of Śiva, (See section 83). This incidentally helped the Gaṇapatyas to link their earlier amorphous religion of Vighneśa-Vināyaka to the more respectable, aristocratic and oldest religion of the Vedas. And lastly, this helped the Gaṇapatyas to substitute a prayer to this audio-visual image of Gaṇapati at the beginning of every kind of activity, in the place of the older 'Omkāra' of the Vedic tradition.

But it must not be forgotten that the Gaṇapati-Gajānana concept did not logically develop *out of* the Vighneśa-Vināyaka propitiation. It was the latter, on the other, hand, which had grown out of several independent socio-psychological forces, that had flashed back in time, space and sound, perched upon the oldest pedestal (Peetha) of Praṇava-vāda.

Even though the above allegory of the Praṇava pictograph has occurred in the '*Skanda Purāṇa*'—a work not earlier than the 5th or the 6th century after Christ,—this audio-visual concept

must have come into existence very much earlier than the 1st century A. c. A concept can be earlier than its *recorded* explanation

VIII. *Evolution of Integrated Symbols and Philosophy:*

106. When once the neo-Gaṇapati image was identified with the sacred syllable 'AUM,' which was synonymous with the primeval Sound or Vāk, etc., it became the presiding deity of the alphabets, which were 51 in number in the Sanskrit language ("Akārādī Kṣakaranta Mahāsarasvatī maya"—[Gaṇapati Saharanāmam]). Gaṇapati was, therefore, credited with possessing 51 forms. He became the Leader of all scribes, and the bulky 'Mahābhārata' was thrust upon him to be copied! The older Hindu practice of marking the letter 'Om' at the head of every script was replaced in the Tamil land by the so-called Pillayār-ṣuli—[The curve of the Holy Son.]

Even the cosmopolitan Tamil work, 'Kural,' a masterly coordinated garland of ethical maxims, opened with the following couplet:

"A is the first alphabet, (so is) Ādibhagavan the first in the Universe (Ulaku = Loka.)"

The Jainas equate Ādibhagavan with their 1st Tirthāṅkara, Ādinātha of Rishabha. This is untenable, as Rishabha, the human saint, cannot be the 1st in the Universe. The Hindus equate him variously with Śiva, Viṣṇu or Brahma. That too cannot satisfy logic, as these were the progenitors of the Universe and not the first *in it*. But Praṇava, equated with Gaṇapati, was the first to be created—Ādibhava, the first-born or Jyeshṭhārāja, and the rest of the universe appeared *after* him. The word Ādibhagavan is but a tell-tale appellation for the hidden term 'Ādibhava'—the First-born. [This writer does not share the view of certain modern 'Tamil-lovers,' who want to push back the date of 'Kural' to the pre-Christian era. On linguistic and other more substantial grounds, this writer, following Sivarāja Piḷḷay, is inclined to place the author of the "Kural or Muppāl" in the third or fourth century after Christ,—which is definitely after the neo-Gaṇapati cult had spread to the Tamil land.]

107. It is most likely that the earliest adherents of the Vināyaka-Vighneśa cult, were the artisans, architects, actors, performers, sailors, traders and merchants, who were anxious to derive success in their speculative enterprises. We get a glimpse of such a state of affairs from the following fairly late interpolated verse in the '*Manusmṛiti*':

*"Viprāṇām daivatam sambah,
Kṣatriyāṇām tu mādhavah
Vaiśyaṇām tu bhaved brahma,
Sūdraṇām gaṇa nāyakah"*

"Sāmba (Śiva) is the lord of the Brahmins, Viṣṇu of the Kṣatriyas, Brahma of the Vaiśyas and Gaṇanāyaka of the Sūdras."

The above classes of devotees of Gaṇapati were naturally very numerous. So long as they confined themselves to the worship of the Vināyakas and Vighneśas, they did not need the services of specialised priests. But when the integration of 'Omkāra' with their cult became a settled fact, they felt the need for Brāhmin priests to chant the Vedic hymns. These priests gradually developed a system of Āgamas relating to Gaṇapati-worship. These Āgamas were always linked with the most popular of their contemporary systems of philosophy. As India's trends of philosophical thought through the ages had always been directed towards integration and centralisation rather than isolation and division, the Vighneśa-Vināyaka-Gaṇanana cult too assimilated the most non-controversial aspects of Vedāntism, Vedism, Sāṅkyaism, Śāktam, Bhāgavatism and even Buddhism and Jainism, not forgetting at the same time to retain its affinity to its older beliefs by incorporating them through symbols and myths. Thus was evolved various forms of Gaṇapati image with multiple heads, arms, vehicles, poses, decorating elements, and 'āyudhas' (cult objects). Monotheism, Bhakti and non-violent modes of worship prompted the devotees to substitute coconut-breaking and ārati for blood-spilling, sweet-cakes for meat and pāyasam (pudding) and pānakam (cool-drink) for wine. The deity was endowed with one or more spouses. Many of the older talismanic

objects, used against the Evil Eye, became either vehicles (vāhanas) or cult objects (āyudhas). Many others, which could not be represented, became parts of his thousand synonyms (Sahasranāmam).

Saṅkara's Shaṇmata & Gaṇapatyam :

108. The Gaṇapati cult, with its elephant-headed deity for its nucleus, must have established itself as a respectable mode of worship long before the Pañchāyatana Pūja was enjoined on the Brāhmins as their daily yajnas by the 'Smṛiti-muktavali'.

*“Ādityam ambikām viṣṇum gaṇa nātham mahesvaram
Pancha yajna-paraṁ nityam grihasthāḥ pañcha pūjayet”.*

The householder is enjoined to perform Pūjas, as his five-fold daily sacrifices, to the five deities—Āditya (the sun), Ambikā (The Mother-goddess), Viṣṇu, Gaṇanātha (Gaṇapati) and Mahesvara (Śiva).

Even though the worship of these individual deities was in vogue in one form or the other very much earlier, Mahamahopādhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, an authority on 'Dharmaśāstra' declares that "the worship of these deities, called 'pañchāyatana Pūja' is said to have been popularised by the great Saṅkarāchārya". By adding one more deity—Kumāra (Subrahmanya)—to the above-mentioned five, the great Advaita philosopher converted the Pūja into the now famous 'Shaṇmata'. 'Shaṇmata-sthāpanāchārya' as applied to Saṅkara, conveys the literal meaning of the 'Establisher of six Religions'. But the epithet 'Establisher' does not mean 'Founder'; it connotes only 'the authoritative consolidator', as all the six forms of worship did exist even before his advent. [These six forms of worship must not be confused with the six great systems of Indian Philosophy—viz. the Mīmāṃsa, the Vaiśeṣika, the Nyāya, the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga and the Vedānta—which were entirely different in concept and classification]. Saṅkara only regulated and purified their rites, practices and dogmas to fit in with his basic theory of Eclectic Gnosticism, which was quite distinct from and even opposed to the agnosticism of the Buddhists and the Jainas of his time.

And Gaṇapati worship was thereafter called 'Gaṇāpatyam'. In his 'Bhujāṅgam' on Gaṇeśa, Saṅkara explains thus :

“ Yam ekaksharam nirmalam nirvikalpaṃ,
 Guṇatitam ānandam akāraśūnyaṃ
 Param paraṃ omkāraṃ amṇāya-garbhaṃ,
 Vadanti pragalbhaṃ purāṇaṃ tamīḍe ”

[To Him, whom the great ones proclaim as the Single-syllabled Supreme Sound, stainless, unconditioned, transcending qualities, bliss, formless, the beyond, the furtherest limit, the indwelling spirit in the womb of scripture—to that I offer praise.]

109. There are even now a few prejudiced Orientalists and so-called 'research scholars', who connect Gaṇāpatyam with the orgies of the mediaeval Indian Vāma-mārga. It might be that in some remote corners of India some obscene cults had adopted the Vināyaka or the Vighneśa cult also into their own, but that does not at all justify the inference that Gaṇāpatyam emanated out of them! We may as well trace it to the Eleucianian Mysteries of ancient Greece and Ionia!

VIII. Integrated symbols and rites.

110. *The River of Gaṇāpatya*: From the above discussion, we have arrived at the conclusion that the river of Gaṇāpatyam had several tributaries of varying magnitudes, each having its own independent source, but none claiming to be the main stream. Mingling with each other at various stages of their progress, they proceeded as one big stream and mingled with the monotheistic river of Vedānta and went on further as a bigger river. On its way, it was dammed and filtered by the Shaṇmata regime of Hinduistic culture. And it is still progressing onwards in its eternal march towards the unreachable sea of perfection of religious thought. It is true that some of the unfiltered waters of the tributaries have overflowed their own banks and also the banks of the combined river at some stage or other and branched off in different directions. For example, while the Vināyaka and the Vighneśvara cults, have merged with the monotheistic Gajānana and Gaṇāpatya cults, the Kīrtimukha and the Vīdūshaka concepts

and motifs have flown in their own artistic directions. They too have incidentally absorbed to some extent by contact some of the monistic ideas from Sāṅkara's philosophy.

111. *Attempts at Integration*: It is necessary, however to reiterate at this stage the important fact that the so-called 'integration' was but an amorphous mixture and not an inseparable compound. And it is this amorphous nature of 'Gaṇāpatyam' that permits many of its older ingredients to survive still in such symbolistic and stylistic forms as Āyudhas (instruments), Vāhanas (vehicles), costumes, ornaments, poses, attitudes, gestures, offerings and other paraphernalia. It is true that the new Monistic philosophy of Gaṇāpatya has heroically attempted to invent and read its own allegorical meanings in them with the *desirable* view of bringing about a greater cohesive integration. But the multiplicity of jarring elements defy allegorical explanations. And they are bound to survive as the superfluous fleshy protuberances from the neck of goats (ajagaḥasthas) and the nipples on the breasts of man!

112. *Non-partisan Approach Necessary*: Let us notice now some at least of these symbolic survivals to estimate their merits and demerits from an objective viewpoint *without in any way offending the sentiments of devotees*.

We make this last declaration, because a few 'Indologists' have been overstepping their research boundaries and descending to cynical sneers at living religions. Many, however, have advanced even secular theories too without injecting any element of ridicule. "Miss Getty believes that he (Gaṇeśa) was the totem of a Dravidian tribe. Prof. Foucher thinks of an elephant spirit of the jungle, with a theriomorphic evolution. Meyer affirms that it was a spirit of the fecundity and of the deads in connection with the 'Mothers'. Grierson and Crooke believe in a solar hero of Dravidian origin. Coomārāśwāmy supposes that Gaṇeśa was a yakṣa, one of the demigods attending on Kubera. Heras and Zimmer think of a connection with the Nāga (the word means also elephant) tribes," [Juan Roger Reviere in an article in '*purāṇa*' Vol. IV. No. 1 page 102.]

This is fair criticism, even though this present writer hesitates to vouch for the accuracy of its summarisation. Even if it be

correct, the fallacy lies in confusing a few of the borrowed elements of Gaṇāpatyam with its *origins*. Christianity, Islam and Judaism have *elements* in their rituals and rites that had originally belonged to Greek, Roman and Egyptian paganisms. And do we conclude, therefrom, that these religions had their *origins* in Paganism?

Father Heras, however, adopts a different emotional key. In Section 47, we have already quoted him thus: (1) "Gaṇeśa being thus officially, though *surreptitiously* introduced into Mahāyāna Buddhism etc". (2) "This successful intrusion of Gaṇapati", (3) "He was finally shown as a demon under the feet of other deities. The irony of fate!" (Italics ours). Even if the facts mentioned in these statements were correct, they could have been presented without the sneer. A living, eclectic religion, which has the psychological potential to become universal, needs a deferential approach. That was why the above precautionary declaration (Samkalpa), 'to be inoffensive' to Gaṇapati worshippers, had to be given in advance. Father Heras could indulge in that luxury in the last decade, but we cannot.

113. *Gaṇāpatyam*:- We have already stated that though a partially-integrated Gaṇeśa worship had been in vogue in India even from the beginning of the Christian era and though Saṅkara has reformed it in the 9th century, *Gaṇāpatham* as a distinct philosophical sect, became popular and dynamic but in the early tenth century, when Ānandagiri's "*Saṅkaravijaya*" was widely read out and recited to the general public, Gaṇapati was declared unequivocally as the Supreme God, the First Cause (Paramātman), and the *Gaṇapati-Tāpanīya-Upanishad* (otherwise known as 'Varada-Tāpanīya-Upanishad') with its mantra '*Om Gaṇeśaya Namah*,' became the Gaṇāpatya Canon.

114. "We find Gaṇapati in many Purāṇas; the 'Agnipurāṇa' describes a ritual of Gaṇeśa. Others speak of him as a deity above the Trimūrtis. The 'Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa,' an Upapurāṇa, condenses the theology and the cult of the god. It was the influence of the Gaṇāpatyas that introduced him with his myths into the last editions of Purāṇas. The 'Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa' contains many stories about him and equates him with

Krishṇa. [There exists a ‘*Gaṇeśa Gīta*,’ in which the name of the god substitutes that of Krishṇa.] The ‘*Vāmana Purāṇa*’ speaks of the origin of the god; the ‘*Varāha Purāṇa*’ narrates his birth; the “*Padma-Purāṇa*” describes his cult; the ‘*Garuḍa Purāṇa*’ includes him among the five great gods...we find him in ‘*Tāntrism*,’ specially in the ‘*Prapañcha-śāra-Tantra*.’ (J. R. Reviere-Ibid.)

The effect of the above crisp and factual summarisation by the above author was, however, marred to some extent by the following statement of his in the same article: “Kumāra, his *supposed* brother,—the second son of Śiva, appears in the Purāṇic and epic periods as an *intruder*.” (Italics ours).—As if Kumāra and Gaṇapati were *historical* personages to be born one after the other like Jesus, Gautama, Mahomed, and Mahāvira! The above author, like Father Heras, is not unaware of the fact that Gaṇapati Kumāra, Śiva, Śakti, Brahma etc. are mere *allegorical concepts* and that even today or tomorrow a new cult may arise to propagate a newer concept instead of the Primordial Sound (Nāda-Brahman), electron, micron or hypermicron as the eldest son of Śiva, the Supreme Being, and thereby create a new myth. It is true that the Skānda myth appeared in India earlier than the Gaṇapati myth, but that does not militate against the *factum* of the Omkāra *concept* preceding that of Skānda or Sanatkumāra. When once Gaṇapatyam developed into a master-religion in India between the 6th and the 12th centuries after Christ, it began to absorb within itself almost all the essential tenets, rituals, rites, symbols, legends, hymns, prayers and myths of its contemporary cults—Śaivism, Śāktism, Kaumāram, Vaiṣṇavam, Śauram, and even Buddhism and Jainism, besides the remnants of the so-called ‘Dravidian’ or Proto-Dravidian’ or ‘Pre-Aryan’ ‘Animism’ also. Thus Gaṇapati’s imagery (Dhyāna) acquired newer dimensions. He was endowed with Śiva’s third eye, five heads. Ūrdhva-līṅga [as the ‘Ūrdhva-reṭas’ of Virūpāksha (vide footnote of section 59,)] Jaṭā makuṭa (matted hair tuft), Tāṇḍava (dancing on one leg), trident, skull-garland, skull-cushion, the crescent moon, the snake belt and yajnopavīta, the rosary, the bull-vāhana [Dharma rūpa Vriṣastvam hi Gaṇeśasya ca Vahanam]—(‘Kālivilāsa Tantra’—Ch. XVII—Avalon Edn.), and the seated Śakti on his lap or by his side. He was given Viṣṇu’s conch, mace, and Chakra (disc), Pārvatī’s lotus, parrot and the lion-mount, Brahma’s Vedic

manuscripts, Lakshmi's lotus seat and jewelled pot full of gold and gems, Manmatha's sugar-cane bow and flower arrows, [Suma Bāṇekṣu Kodaṇḍa Paśāṅkuśa Varāyudhah"—Gaṇeśa Sahasranāmam 80.] Skanda's spear and peacock mount, Varuṇa's noose and Sarasvati's Vīṇa, flute and aṅkuśa (goad).

116. *Mūshika*: As the newly evolved Gaṇapati began to be worshipped universally by all men, be they good or bad, including thieves and criminals, for the *success* of their respective enterprises, without regard to their moral values, a new dimension too developed in his imagery. The god Śiva alone had been till then conceived as conferring boons to demons, criminals and thieves. ['*Taskaraṇām Pataye Namah*'—Vajasaneya Samhita—Rudram]. Gaṇapati too naturally inherited his father's trait and was called "*Mūṣikavāhana*" [*Mūshika*=a thief, *Vāhana*=son; i.e. the thief's son] [*Gaṇapati Atharvashirsha Upanished* explains: "The *Mūṣaka* is a thief"] But the word *Mūshika* has another meaning—viz. a mouse and *Vāhana* too can connote a mount or vehicle. Since the latter meaning is more *respectable*, (though ludicrous), than 'the son of a thief,' it became popular and even obliterated the original connotation.

117. When, again, Gaṇapati was elevated as one of the five great Gods (Pañchāyatana) of daily worship for the Brāhmins, the *extended palm*, a charm against the original Evil Eye according to Atharva Veda, was converted into the *Aśhaya-Hasta* (the gesture of refuge) and the ringing of the bell was made a part and parcel of the ritual of the daily pūja, with the mantra, '*Āgamārthamtu*' etc. quoted in section 70. The string of three threads of gold, silver, and iron became his Yajñopavita and the boar's tusk became his own broken tusk. Other obscure charms against the Evil Eye appear as some of his synonyms in the "*Gaṇapati Sahasranāma*" (A thousand names of Gaṇapati), which forms an integral part of the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*.

118. *The Vidūṣaka Element*: Though the elephant is never a pot-bellied creature in nature, Gaṇapati, the pigmy man (*Vāmana*) acquired that 'Lambodara' attribute from the *Vidūṣaka* or *Vikaṭa* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. (See section 87). But the ever-alert and industrious intellects of the Gaṇapatyas very cleverly and aptly converted that pot-belly into an allegorical

symbol for "the *container* of the whole universe within his abdomen"!

Many Purāṇas refer to Gaṇapati's childish pranks and practical jokes against all the other gods, which remind us of the Vidūṣaka element in his personality. "During one of those little quarrels (praṇayakalaha) between Śiva and Pārvatī, the child Vināyaka demanded of them a kiss on each one of his cheeks at the same time. They could not refuse this. And thus, as they came close to kiss him on either side, he withdrew, with the result that the divine Mother and Father exchanged caresses between themselves." [' Saṅkara-kṛkara '-Ibid].

In another episode, occurring in a Tamil legendary lore, Gaṇeśa won in a bet between himself and his brother, Kumāra, in a race round the Universe. Kumāra flew fast as air on his peacock mount, while Gaṇapati simply went round his divine parents, Śiva and Pārvatī, who had the Universe within them. He was declared the winner. The outwitted Kumāra had to become a monk on the Palni Hills! But this self-same Gaṇapati helped him to get married to a Kuṛava maid Vajji later! We have already referred to a flute-playing Gajānana. In foisting some of Sri Krishna's boyish "Leelas" on a boyish Gaṇapati, (including the dance on a serpent), the adapters have unconsciously stumbled into the comic aspect. The extremely delightful ludicrousness of an elephant-head playing on a flute can better be imagined than described!

We have already dilated upon the Modaka motif of the Vidūṣaka, in sections 93-94, and it is but natural that the same comic element should re-appear in '*Gaṇapatyam*' too as Gaṇapati's most favourite sweet-meat.

Even in the peculiarly comic form of abhinaya (gesture), called '*Toppikkaranam*' in Tamil, we get a glimpse of the Vidūṣaka element. "In this method of salutation (to the god), we catch our left ear with the right hand, and the right ear with the left hand and kneel down. This we repeat several times. *Toppikkaranam* is corruption of '*Dorbhin karṇam grihitvā*' (Holding the ears with the two hands). Viṣṇu is stated to have made this form of salutation to make Vināyaka laugh." (H. H. Sri Saṅkarācārya of Kāñchi).

119. *Explanations of Symbols*: Notwithstanding the above argumentations about the historical evolution of the various symbols of Gaṇapati, our ancestors and consolidators of modern Hinduism have transmitted to us, with the noblest of intentions,—perhaps as a result of their Sādhana (God-Realisation),—the following philosophical explanations of a few most common of these symbols.

- (a) *Pāśa* (the noose): Emblem of Gaṇeśa controlling the bonds of Samsāra.
- (b) *Aṅkuśa* (The elephant goad): The symbol of directing the elephant-like movements of human passions and activities.
- (c) *Akṣamālā* (The Rosary): The symbol of the 51 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. The Hindu boy is asked to say “Om Sri Gaṇeśāya Siddham”, when he first repeats his guru’s first enumeration of the alphabets. Gaṇeśa is called ‘Siddhidhātā’.
- (d) *Modaka* (The sweet cake): The *Padma Purāṇa* explains that the modaka is the symbol of Supreme Wisdom (Mahābuddhi) hidden within the outer head of man.
- (e) *Ratnakumbha* (Pot of jewels): Emblematic of Gaṇeśa’s power to grant wealth and gems.
- (f) *Paraśu* (The battle axe): Gaṇeśa’s power to cleave the wooden coating of illusion (Māyā or avidyā) that cover our intelligence.
- (g) *Nāga* (Serpent): Symbol of eternity — to suggest Gaṇeśa’s endlessness. (anantam).
- (h) *Danta* (The Tusk): Emblematic of his function to protect the virtuous and punish the vicious.
- (i) *Gajānana* (Elephant head): Represents the praṇava (Omkāra).
- (j) *Vakratunda* (Crooked body): Symbolises Māyā or the gross illusory universe.

- (k) *Gaṇapati* (Lord of Hosts): The *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa* takes *ga* as wisdom and *na* as Salvation (Moksha) and *Gaṇapati* is the Lord of the two. But the *Gaṇapati-Atharva-śiras* says that *ga* is Mind (Manas) and *na* is Vāk (speech) and *Gaṇapati* is the Controller of the two.
- (l) *Lambodara* (Pot-bellied): Represents the whole universe of matter within this capacious belly. (*Atharvasīrṣa*).
- (m) *Sūrṣapakarṇa* (Winnow-eared): Emblematic of the god's power to winnow away all obstacles of his devotees.
- (n) *Vināyaka* (Lack-lord): As he was born without the physical union of his divine parents, he is *Vināyaka*. (*Vāmana-Purāṇa*).

IX. *Mass Appeal and Dynamism behind Gaṇapatyam* :

120. There are two types of denominational religions in the world. The first is represented by those which had originated out of a definite unitary system of philosophical thought, dogmatised by certain individuals as well as by its specially organised schools of thought. Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Judaism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Mithraism, Islam and Sikhism are some of them. The second type is represented by Animism, Shāmanism, Egyptian, Greek and Roman Paganisms, and Hindūism with its half-a-dozen sub-divisions, which did not have any single founder nor any unified system of philosophical thought. These latter had grown gradually from various types of folklore, animistic beliefs, superstitions, magical practices, mediumistic rites, medicinal lore, communal and political traditions, and multitudinous philosophical speculations—all merged together into amorphous *organisms*. These latter types too have traditions enough, but have no polarised dogmas impeding adjustments necessary for meeting exigencies. Their philosophies change as promptly as their contemporary trends of thought, so much so that it will not be possible to recognise in their newest phases most of their earliest beliefs and trends of thought. These older beliefs may even negate their latest phases. Modern Hinduism thus abhors the animal and human

sacrifices and intoxicating drinks of its Vedic seers and prophets, and extols the Vedānta philosophy of its Rāmakrishnas and Aurobindos to the detriment of the older multi-divine personifications of the forces of nature. The temple and the prayer have replaced the Yāgaśālas.

121. Each religion, be it of the first or of the second type, is a combination of theories conceived by the human mind to explain the problems and phenomena of life. Theories change with the progress of human thought. But polarised dogmas refuse to be modified and even persist in propagating their outmoded theories. It is now more than a century since the precession of the equinoxes has been internationally recognized as facts of nature. And yet some theologies persist in opposing the well-meant efforts of the UNO and the *Unesco* to reform the international calendar. A few are even aggressively opposed to the very idea of live and let live in religious co-existence.

122. In Hinduism, however, and in Gāṇāpatyam in particular, where there is no central organization to polarise their growth and expansion, it is impossible for any external force to devour them by physically seizing and controlling any of their multitudinous organisational units, which have been functioning from time immemorial independently of each other. And these units do not have any common dogma either to bind them together into one whole. Gāṇāpatyam has developed out of certain *unconnected socio-psychological forces* operating on the individual human mind. The desire to succeed (siddhi) in one's enterprises is a universal psychological phenomenon. To try to overcome or to by-pass obstacles (Vighnas) to the success of those enterprises is its logical corollary. Belief in the Evil Eye, though a supersition, is also equally *universal*, and the desire to avert its evil consequences subconsciously persist in the human mind everywhere. Prayers, propitiations, amulets and talismans may change with the technical advancement of human ingenuity, but the *fear* is *eternal*. So far as we know, no major denominational religion has incorporated these two motifs as their *primary* objectives, except the cult of the Gāṇāpatyas, which even specifies its twentyone bounties as follows :—" *Dharma*, wealth, happiness, auspicious-

ness, learning, eminence, secular-cum-spiritual fruits, beauty, valour, victory, power of attraction, prevention of miscarriage, good progeny, versatility, fame, equanimity, destruction of inauspiciousness, debating power, power of pacifying the irate, annulment of incantation, and destruction of misery." ('Sāṅkara-Kīṅkara'-ibid).

123. Gaṇapati-worship is not sacerdotal, but appeals to the individual. The modern Indian devotee of the God equates not only Christ (the Son of God), but also Rīṣhabha (The Ādibhagavan of Jainism) and the oft-occurring Buddhas of Mahāyānism with his Gaṇapati (The Ādibhava=First-born). This equation with the Logos or the Word or the Son of God of the Fourth Gospel is a potential disturbing element to some fanatical Christian Evangelists. Nevertheless, the modern Gaṇāpatya does not hesitate to endow his favourite Deity with all the attributes not only of the Supreme Being, but of all the gods of international pantheon too without exception. Eclecticism had always been his guiding policy.

X. Conclusion :

124. This writer is not a Gaṇāpatya enthusiast. Nevertheless, he poses the following question :—Will it be too much of a fantastic prognosis if he speculates that this Gaṇapati cult is bound to expand once again beyond the borders of the Indian Sub-continent and into a Universal practical religion, with its renovated philosophy of "Success," that will be on all fours too with the latest developments in international social, political and economic thought? The extreme simplicity of its immediate objective—viz. Success (Siddhi)—and the understandability of its rationale by the common man of all climes, "*Kṛipākaram, Kṣhamākaram, Mudākaram, Yaśaskaram, Manaskaram, Namaś-kṛitam Namaskaromi Bhasvaram*" "The merciful, the forgiving, the joy-giving, and the fame-giving, I bow to that glorious Being, who bestows intelligence to the devotee!" [Translated by 'Sāṅkara-Kīṅkara-Ibid], prompts us to answer the query in the affirmative.

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FOLK ART: AN UNEXPLORED SOURCE MATERIAL OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCES*

BY

JOGENDRA SAKSENA,

Assistant Information Officer,

(Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, New Delhi.)

Introduction :

India is unique in its art traditions. No country in the world has till now preserved its age old traditions as vigorously and steadfastly as India has done. "Giving, taking, borrowing, assimilating, creating, India has come to be what she is, perhaps the most fascinating country in the world."¹ For untold centuries the aspirations and ideas of the people, expressed through religion, art, music, literature, manners and peculiar structure of their society, have remained vital.

It is needless to say that the indigenous arts of the people, better known as the folk-arts, have an appeal of their own. They have their own purpose for which they were developed and the meaning they were endowed with. But this purpose and meaning with which these folk-arts originated in the ancient past and for which they were acquired by the women-folk for the well-being of their families, are now altogether forgotten. Today it is only the tradition which is keeping them alive generation after generation.

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1. Sen Gertrude Emerson. *The Pageant of India's History*, Pt. I; London, First Edition. 1948, p. 9.

The first concern of a woman is the well-being of her household, her husband, her children and other members of the family. She, therefore, observes all such festivals and performs all those rituals which are carriers of good luck to the family. She thus keeps alive the traditions which were observed originally by some great-great-grand mother, but are forgotten now. Whatever may be the beliefs and sentiments of the women today, the fact, however, remains that their values have helped immensely in preserving and keeping these art forms alive.

What is Folk-Art ?

According to dictionary meaning folk-art is a traditional art form or craft handed down from one generation to another, its origin being obscure. The folk-art—*Māṇḍana* and *Mehndi*, discussed in this paper, is that traditional art form which the women-folk, in the country-side, employ for embellishing their abodes on ceremonial occasions and which include in it a number of symbols having their distinctive history, purpose and occult meanings.

Folk-art is one of the important phases of traditional art which cannot be ignored as crude village art, having no significance. "In these rudiment and crude art forms, one can (not only) trace the highly developed sophisticated art of our time"², but can also read the meaning which they convey.

In folk-art we have examples of various types of artistic creations. The decorations used in different parts of the country during different ceremonies are: *Māṇḍana* and *Mehndi* in Rajasthan, *Alpana* in Bengal, *Aripan* in Bihār, *Chowk Pūrna* in Uttar Pradesh, *Rāṅgolī* in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt, and *Kolam* in South. They are not only decorative art forms, but are the spontaneous expression of rustic life, revealing their creative activities.

Folk-art in women's hands has indeed become stereotyped by the repetitive processes and conservatism, but, none-the-less, the central motif, which forms the *bīja* (seed) of a particular design

2. Haldar, Asit Kumar; *Our Heritage in Art*, Lucknow, 1952 ; P. 51.

remains unchanged. This makes the various art-forms recognisable even after their existence for centuries, and makes it possible to read their purpose and meaning.

Evolution of Art Forms :

The process of evolution of art forms (designs) has been very slow. As man advanced, his art and culture advanced, and the art of caves and rock-shelters became more refined and sophisticated with the time. The simple linear forms which had been used innocently in the beginning for decorative purposes, were then acquired by the wisemen through the ages, invested with mystic powers and given a distinct status known to us today as charms and *yantras*, etc.

The art forms which had been purely utilitarian in the early stages of civilisation, later became religious in character and acquired an enigmatic atmosphere.

These simple geometrical diagrams have been used not only in India, but almost all over the world for acquiring occult powers. For example, a six pointed star which is the symbol of Lakṣmi, the goddess of wealth and happiness, had been in extensive use, and still is, in Israel and is known as the Shield of David, the father of the great King Solomon, who ruled there in c. 930 B.C. Similarly, a five pointed star which is significant of five *tatvas* (elements) in *tantra* had been used for black magic by the wise-men in ancient Greece.

History : Flourishing Period

How and when the initial employment of these art forms for decorative purposes came to be invested with occult powers, is a matter of conjecture. The study in origin and development of these designs is rendered difficult because no direct and specific references to these obscure subjects are yet available. And the evidences that are available are inconclusive, not conveying anything direct and definite.

A vast variety of these forms and patterns have been found in pottery, seals, ornamental objects and figurines of Mohen-jo

darò and Harappa period, as well as in other such article-belonging to Jericho, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Greece, Rome, Byzantine, Babylonia, Maya, Inca, Aztec, Mochica, etc. far beyond Indian territory. Myriads of them have been translated into stone and wood and steel, and woven into cane, straw, cloth and such other media, but not much has been said explicitly and specifically about them. And the women, who practise them do not know anything about their meaning and purpose, as the masters who had invested them with occult powers did not explain them to the uninitiates.

The earliest civilization of India is that of the Indus Valley (c. 3,000 B.C.) which covers a long tract of land extending from Punjab to Sindh. It has since been extended to western Rajasthan and Narmada Valley. If we examine this 5,000 year old or even earlier civilization to evaluate its contribution to ritual art, we come to the conclusion that there are no direct evidences, which can be ascribed to the present forms of floor decorations, as the decorative designs that might have been used for the purpose then, have not so far come to light. However the heavy bulk of coloured and painted pottery, besides, seals, figurines and a few pieces of fabrics excavated from the Indus Valley sites and the area of its influence, offer valuable evidences on closer inspection. These are rich in geometrical and floral patterns like triangles, squares, circles, swastiks,³ chess-board patterns, multiple horizontal bands and wavy lines,⁴ trees, birds and animals in different settings and alignments.

To quote R. E. M. Wheeler, "In essential characters the Indus or Harappa culture, as presented by its most abundant manifestation, its pottery, is unique. Its partiality for hatched patterns, its free use of intersecting circles and their variations, of scale patterns, even motifs based on the pipal or similar leaf, may occasionally be matched in detail in Baluchistan or even further afield, but as an assemblage it is without analogy."⁵

3 Lothal - Pl. XX-5, Indian Archaeological Review, 1957-58 and Further Excavations at Mohen-jo-daro, Makay, Vol. II.

4, *Ibid.* P. 13.

5. Iran and India in Islamic Times; Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India; July '47 and Jan. '48; No. 4, P. 91.

These motifs and their treatment uncover before us the essential truth that the art of designing, whether ritualistic or secular, is not the proprietary of any age or any place, however remote in time and space they might have been. Nor are they the monopoly of any race or culture of any country; rather they reveal the working of a creative human mind.

While describing the Indus Valley and Harappa pottery D.H. Gordon pointed out that in north-western India where there is a great deal of painted pottery their period ranges from 4,000 B. C. to the present day and he is correct when he says so, because a number of designs painted on these earthen wares have come down to us from ages in the past and appear, as if, they were done today, for they are so rich, so fresh and so modern in their pick and form and treatment. Chess-board pattern (fig. 1) which is common almost every where today, is found from extremely early times. It is so widely distributed in space and time that today it is difficult to date it.

Similarly, there are designs of lines and circles-squares, oblongs, triangles, waving and angular lines, which have survived various vicissitudes and come down to us escaping all cultural changes and exchanges. They naturally provide enough food for thought and reason and seem to point to a source which had been so potent and which has sunk so deep into the consciousness of the people that in spite of all [social, political, religious and geographical upheavels, they have been saved from total annihilation, they have come down to us in their almost original form, though later invested with different meaning, which we do not know definitely yet.

They survive to this day :

We are told that Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa were highly developed cities of their times. The excavated evidences also speak of the culture which was evidently at the height of its material achievements and in spiritual attainments too. Evidences of *Siva* cult existent in the Sindhu culture, as such, have survived to this day in a number of seals unearthed during the excavations. Similarly, the presence of the Mother Goddess Cult is proved by the seals and figurines. Pipal tree which is sacred even today was

connected with goat sacrifice in those days. And, that ritual which was connected with the Mother Goddess Cult, has survived to this day in the worship of *Śakti*.⁶

That geometrical and floral designs, used for painting pottery were also assigned to non-anthropomorphic deities has been suggested by the presence of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, who are symbolically represented by triangles-upright for *Śiva* and inverted for *Śakti*.⁷ Similarly the Swastika (fig. 2) which is considered to be a very auspicious symbol today, has been discovered with a wheel motif on a number of seals. These two symbols assigned to the Sun God suggest that the Sun was a non-anthropomorphic deity, having been worshipped symbolically either in a wheel or in a Swastika.⁸ Also, as referred to by Pusalkar, these symbols 'Swastika and the Cross' or wheel appear to have religious significance to the people of Babylonia and Elam, too.⁹ Besides, the Pipal tree of the Mother Goddess Cult has got its representation in *Alpana* designs of Bengal in which a pipal leaf is described to this day.

Regions and Classification :

The traditional decorative art discussed here is not confined to any State or region of the country, In fact, it is scattered all over the country, known differently in different States and regions as pointed out above under 'What is Folk Art ?'

6. Here the author is of the belief that because of matriarchal pattern of society and the presence of the Mother Goddess Cult some sort of *Tāntrik* worship, as it was developed in later centuries, had existed. This belief is all the more strengthened by the presence of preponderous number of ritualistic motifs like swastikas, triangles, circles, etc.
7. "Contiguous upright and Inverted triangles with diagonal hatching, sloping alternately, right and left, and which owes its origin to pre-Vedic period, survive to this day. The first of these motifs appear in Juang comb, the second is common to all tribes." Verrier Elwin; *The tribal Art of Central India*; Introduction.
8. Reference to chariot wheel representing the sun is available in the *Rig-Veda*. Women in Rajasthan to this day draw circular designs when they worship the Sun for the first time after child birth - the design being known as '*Suraj-ko-chowk*'.
9. History and the culture of the Indian People: The Vedic Age; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay ; Vol. 1 ; P. 100.

If we just sit down to characterize these decorative designs we would find that the whole set of them is divided into two, the one drawn in the mountainous regions and the other in the plains and the fertile areas of the country, that is *ākṛiti pradhāna* (geometrical) and *vallarī pradhāna* (floral) respectively. In Rajasthān, Uttar Pradesh, Mahārāṣṭra, Āndhra Pradesh and the whole of the southern India, they are *ākṛiti pradhāna* i.e. true to the geometrical conception, while they are *vallarī pradhāna* i.e. floral in Bengal and Bihār, etc.

This classification of these two sets of designs, further reflects upon the relief of the country, that is to say, where the former represents the rugged and rigid aspect of the mountainous West, the latter gives an idea of the exuberant East.

Discussions

The purpose of this paper is to see how folk-art has remained an unexplored source material of the history of the Indian sciences. As mentioned above, while tracing the history of these designs, we find that the motifs used by the women folk for composing various designs are many and varied, comprising triangles, two interlaced triangles, forming a six-pointed star, squares, polygons, their various complex combinations, Swastikas (Fig. 2) and circles, *bavaḍi* (cross) (Fig. 9b), etc. Significantly enough, each one of them has its own meaning and purpose for which it is utilized.

In this paper I would discuss only three such diagrams to show how, along with a host of others, they can be interpreted in terms of art, *tantra* and science, and to bring out their purpose and meaning which appear very close to one another.

As we know, every knowledge, whether it is of art or science, can be acquired only by studying it systematically. To a chemist, a simple hexagon denotes a particular organic chemical compound, which it signifies. To an artist it is a pattern having highly decorative value, but to a student of *tantra*, the same hexagon is not only a *yantra*, assigned to a particular deity, but is also

a medium through which he can communicate with the ruling deity of that particular diagram. It is possible only by concentrating on it, delving into its mysteries and doing *sādhana* on it scientifically.

In essence, the *tantra*, art and science seem to meet at one place and their ultimate aim appears to be to bring happiness to man. An arduously cleansed and beautifully decorated abode breathes purity and looks blissful and fascinating. It makes one feel happy and the soul elated. Similarly, a chemical, when administered to a sick person in the form of medicine, brings him health not only in body, but also in mind, thereby enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of life. In the same way, *tantra* also is a direct means of purifying body and mind through arduous *yoga sādhanā* and thereby attain *mokṣa* that is the liberation which is the blissful state after relinquishing this body.

What these diagrams signify and how they provide a common meeting ground for art, *tantra* and science, is a question which needs sifting study and profound understanding. However, what little I have been able to study and understand these diagrams is explained hereunder.

The three diagrams to be considered in this paper are : (1) *Ṣaṭkoṇa* (*Kaṭṭa* = hexagon) of a six-pointed star (Fig 3a & 3b), *Trikōṇa* (also *Kapaṭa* = triangle, Figs. 3 a, b 3b), *Sarvatobhadra* (*Bavaḍi* = a Cross, Fig. 9b). The interpretations given here are, in no way conclusive and are open for discussion. They are just assimilation of thoughts which have occurred to me while studying them from different angles. It is hoped that my interpretation of these diagrams will arouse interest in scholars and would elicit further information which may help in interpreting these motifs more meaningfully, and in finding out the common purpose of all these branches of knowledge.

Ṣaṭkoṇa : the prolific hexagon, Fig. 3.

Common features generally attract very little attention. A hexagon is such one design which is widely used, but so little thought about. Architects and structural engineers use it profusely,

because, in its various combinations and compositions, it imparts a beautiful feature to the building, and also it is, perhaps, the easiest to draw, whether it is done in free-hand or by using mechanical devices.

Nature also employs hexagon profusely and effectively, wherever there need be—bee-hive, body cells, hexagonal patterns on the shell of a land tortoise are common examples. Most of the organic compounds are represented by the hexagonal structures. Snow flakes, foam created by soap, by dashing waves and running waters, on closer inspection, reveal hundreds of thousands of small circular bubbles arranged in hexagonal formation. Similarly, in floor decorations a hexagon occupies an important place. In *tantrika* diagrams too, it holds the same exalted position.

Then, how is it that this particular design is so widely and variedly used with different angles and with different purposes? A little reflection on the formation of this design may help in answering this pertinent question.

An architect uses a hexagon from a purely aesthetic point of view, but an engineer, on the other hand employs it for providing an easy and workable design and a stable structure. As it stands strains and stresses very firmly, it is so abundantly used by Nature. The collapsible semi-circular geodesic dome (Fig. 4.) erected by fastening horizontal and slanting bars of equal lengths, is one of its best examples. The formation of this dome, which rises majestically above the ground, becomes possible, because a hexagon when expanded on all sides results in systematic and well balanced pattern which is not the case with other polygons.

Besides, designing in hexagonal pattern is anybody's pleasure. Chicken-wire netting (Fig. 5), collapsible gates with hexagonal patterns (Fig. 6) and *saḍi* design with chicken-wire-netting effect (Fig. 7) are beautiful artistic creations, simple in execution and powerful in effect.

A *ṣaṭkoṇa* is actually the result of two *sampuṭit trikoṇa*—two triangles arranged in ascending and descending order, one overlapping the other and forming a six pointed star. It is a significant and most widely used motif in ritualistic decorations.

It is a common art form generally drawn on the occasion of *Dīpāvalī* festival as symbolic representation of *Lakṣmī*, the fabulous goddess of pleasure and plenty. Besides, it is also found as an ingredient of the *yantras* related to a number of divinities—male and female, such as, *Durgā*, *Baglāmukhī*, *Śiva*, *Rāma*, *Gaṇeśa*, etc., with a slight variation in the petals of the enclosing lotus.

The two *samputit trikoṇa* signify the conjugation of the two principles, male and female; active and passive, which are manifest in the Universe and around which the whole *cosmos* revolves, and the whole occult sciences work. It is the union of the *Mūla Prakṛti* and the *Puruṣa* and, as such, is the most potent of all the *tantrika* diagrams. Where the *Prakṛti* (female) and the *Puruṣa* (male) are active in their unified form, success is bound to follow. As such, by delineating, so profusely, this symbol of two interlaced triangles on the harvest festival it is proclaimed that men and women have worked shoulder to shoulder to reap good harvest and that *Lakṣmī* should grace their abodes and bring happiness to them. It is, as if, that by drawing this diagram in a number of combinations all over the house—rooms, verāṇḍhas, court-yards, open terraces, cow-sheds, that is to say, at every available space in the house, they spread a red-carpet to welcome goddess *Lakṣmī*.

A *ṣaṭkoṇa* is significant of the two planes—the highest and the lowest, operating on this earth and so within the human body. In its lowest plane, where it is the *vimarśa* (manifestation) of the *Ādya Śakti*, in its highest plane it is the (manifestation) of the eternal heavenly bliss. In the human body, in its lowest plane it is the *Kuṇḍalīni Śakti* (coiled up Serpent Power); in its highest plane it is the *Sahasrāra* (the thousand petalled lotus flower), which ultimately unites *Ātma* (soul) with the *Paramātmā* (the Almighty God).

In its highly developed form the *ṣaṭkoṇa* is transformed into the *Sri Cakṛa* which is the most magnificent composition of nine triangles and is invested with the highest order of occult power. "This celebrated *Yantra* represents the human body and the whole and man (for what is in the former is in the latter and *vice versa*) as also the *Siva*, *Sakti*, *Svarūpa* or *Ātma*. It is

thus the symbol of the *Devī* as She is in her own form (*Svarūpa*) and as she is in the form of the universe *Viśvatma*).¹⁰

"As may be seen in this *maṇḍala* there is no image of any divinity. There is no iconographical representation. Everything is reduced to a geometric design complicated by multiple intersections of the same figures...What we have, in fact, is the quintessential reduction of an identical idea."¹¹

This explains the reason for the multiplicity of the *maṇḍalas* and designs described in a number of ways, varying in their details, according to the requirement of a particular sect, but in quintessence remaining unchanged.

Trikona : Triangle (Fig. 8)

Many things that are required to be strong, have a triangular shape. Triangles can be seen used in bridges, gates, towers and many other structures. Though other shapes can also be used, a triangle provides that strength and rigidity which others cannot do.

A strong shape is one that cannot be altered without breaking the material it is made of. First try the square made of four wooden arms. What would happen if pressure is put at one angle of it? The heavy pressure or the push and pull at the corners would change the shape of the square, no matter how tight the screws or the nails at the four corners have been driven. Now try another shape—the rectangle, the trapezium; these shapes will surely change.

Now let us try a triangle of any kind and put the pressure at one of its corners. Does it alter its shape? Surely enough, not. It stands majestically firm. It would rather break heroically under the pressure than change its shape. It is firm, it is

10. Woodroffee, Sir Jonn. *Tāntrarāj Tantra : A Short Analysis*, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1954, Pp. 4-5.

11. Tucci, Guiseppe, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, Translated from the Italian by Alan Houghton Brodrick; Rider & Co., London, 1961, P. 47.

unchangeable. This is why triangles are so important. This is the functional value of a triangle, as we may very well say.

Further, taking a more general view of the triangle, we find that it is a symbol of a mountain, that rises high above in the sky and stands firm on its base. *Śiva* (Fig. 8a) is connected with the mountain; triangle is associated with him. A triangle is otherwise the male principle of the Universe as is manifest in all male creations, as such. The reverse of it is the female principle and is attributed to *Śakti* (Fig. 8b). And, it is manifest in all female creations, in deep oceans, and mountain valleys, in running rivers and craters of the mountains. A triangle, with lines running across, that is a hatched triangle, represents mountains full of valleys and rivers, running through them, showing fertile lands, dense forests, pasture lands, etc. In iconography, the triangles are the geometrical formation of mountains. In ritual decorations, they represent a *kāpaḍa* (a piece of cloth) or a *siṅghaḍā* (a water chest-nut) or a *kaṅgūra* (angular decoration in borders), and so on.

When formed into a triangle, three straight lines tend to assume three different meanings. In comparison with the *Bindu* or the dot, a triangle is a condition of unveiling, manifestation. It becomes a dot or a point again when the boundry lines of the three sides are made to shrink infinitely. "The three poles are drawn infinitely close together, that is, are ultimately made to coincide."¹² It represents three *guṇas* (qualities) of a man, as *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* or the three states of bliss as, *sat*, *cit*, *anand* or the *trīśakti* (three powers) as, *jñāna*, *icchā* and *kriyā*, or the *triratna* (three jewels) of Buddhist as, *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha* or the *Trimūrti* (the triad of Gods) as, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Rudra*.

To Christians the same thing may mean Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. To Yogis the triangle is the Lotus of the *Kuṇḍalīni* (the coiled up Serpent Power) which is triangular in shape and wherein lies, in coiled up form the power, called the *Kuṇḍalīni Śakti*, in the symbolic language

12. Woodroffe, Sir John and Mukhopadhyāya, Pramatha Nath : MAHĀMĀYA The World as power; Power as Consciousness ; Ganesh & Co., 1954 ; P. 72.

of the Yoga. To the *Tāitrika* a "triangle is the symbol of unity with diversity as the experiencer, experiencing and the experienced universe of tridimensional matter. The Triangle resting on its base is the *Siva* or Power-holder, aspect; the reversed triangle is the *Sakti* aspect and the Hexagon (*ṣaṭkoṇa*) is the union of the two."¹³ Again, a triangle represents the creative power out of which all things come into being, through which they are sustained and to which they all ultimately return.

According to the Egyptian mythology, a triangle represents the three principles, the active, the passive and the composite which are working in the Universe. "In Kircher's opinion, the Egyptians had considered *Osiris* (Greek *Zeus*), the principal emanation of that divine principle, the centre of the world and the supreme source of all, called the Soul of the world or the King of Heaven, which, astrologically seen, was identified with the Sun. *Isis* (Greek *Cybele*) was the principal emanation of the corresponding female principle, called the Queen of the Heaven and identified with the moon.....As manifestation of the same central force, they were all united, but each had its particular cosmological function and represented specific cosmic forces. *Osiris* was 'vis penetrative universe,' the penetrative force of the universe, *Isis* was 'vis productiva frugum,' its productive fructiferous force and their son *Horus* (Greek *Apollo*) was the combining force, such as illustrated by the heat-transmitting qualities of the sunbeams. These dynamic qualities corresponded to philosophic principles. As the penetrating force, *Osiris* was also the active principle. *Isis* was the productive force and consequently the passive principle, while *Horus'* combining qualities made him the composite principle."¹⁴

A basic conformity, in this way, was established between the concepts of religion and philosophy and similar methods were applied to those of science. "In what Kircher called a right-angled Platonic triangle (Fig. 8c) the longest side, enclosing the right angle, represented the active principle and was, therefore

13. Ibid, Foot-note 1; P. 72.

14. Iversen, Erik; *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs — In European Tradition*; Copenhagen; 1961; p. 94-95,

identified with *Osiris*. The smaller side was the passive principle or *Isis* and the hypotenuse was the compositive principle or *Horus*." ¹⁵

According to *Kālikopaniṣad*, the "*Trikoṇam*" or the triangle represented Reality, specially as Time (*Kāla*) and the devourer of Time ("*Kalasya kalanāt kali*," etc.). The triangle, in this sense, is three-dimensional in time. Its base refers to the first tense in time, index, generally to the past and co-officient and the last, generally to the future, thereby corresponding to the scientific conception of time, space and matter.

Thus we find that the triangle is not only the strongest geometrical shape, but also it is representative of the three best in gods, in quality, in state, in power and the dimensions in time. It is the symbol of stability and firmness, of height and depth, of *Siva* and *Śakti*, and of the creative principles—male and female, in the Universe. A simple practical value of the triangle is for example : sailors find the exact position of their ship by means of the triangle when they come near the coast.

Sarvatobhadra : *Bavaḍi* = Cross (Fig. 9)

The design being considered here is one, but it is known differently in folk-art, *tantra* and science. Its name may thus differ, but its purpose, in all the cases, appears, on closer inspection, to be the same, and that it is auspiciousness.

This particular symbol is known as *bavaḍi* (Fig. 9b) in folk-art, as *sarvatobhadra* (Fig. 9a) in *karmakāṇḍa* and as *porphyrin structure*, which is obtained from haemoglobin or chlorophyll (Fig. 9c). to a bio-chemist. But from all these three angles, it points to one integral whole and that is life,

The *bavaḍi* means a step-well, a water reservoir. A water reservoir is auspicious from the human point of view, as water is the elixir of life.

15. Ibid.

The *sarvatobhadra* is a mystical square diagram and is considered auspicious everywhere and in every condition. The term auspiciousness is used essentially in relation to life. *Sarvatobhadra* also signifies a square temple having doors on all the four sides. A temple is considered holy because it is hallowed by the presence of gods and goddesses in various forms. These deities are the preservers of life in all biological forms. To our ancestors, whose religious and magico-religious concepts can still be seen woven in the fabrics of folk-customs and beliefs, auspiciousness was prior condition for every act they did or for every step they took in any direction. Today also, our women-folk, in particular, would not undertake to do anything without considering the omen beforehand and this consideration of omen or auspiciousness is all for the well-being of the human life.

Haemoglobin is an iron containing protein pigment, which occurs in the red blood cells of vertebrates and functions primarily in the transport of oxygen from lungs to the tissues of the body. Haemoglobin is the major protein component of blood. A molecule of haemoglobin is made of globin which is protein and heme which is a deep red iron containing pigment $C_{84}H_{32}N_4O_4Fe$ that is obtained by treating protoporphyrine and that readily oxidizes to hemetin or hemin.

The structure of porphyrine, one of the constituents of haemoglobin is just like the *sarvatobhadra maṇḍala* which we have examined above. Blood structure sustains life and is, therefore, auspicious from the human point of view. The relationship of *sarvatobhadra maṇḍala* with haemoglobin and *bavadi*, as such, becomes obvious. That is to say, each one of the three diagrams points to a thing and that is life. Chlorophyll is another green pigment, whose structure also is just like *sarvatobhadra maṇḍala*. Chlorophyll is found in all living plants and is the photo receptor of life energy in photosynthesis. Through this process of photo-synthesis green plants absorb carbon-dioxide and liberate oxygen.

Oxygen is essential for sustaining life and, as such, chlorophyll which is actually the workshop for manufacturing oxygen is auspicious from the point of view of human life. Then again on

connecting the four angular sides of *sarvatobhadra* or chlorophyll structure. it results in an octagon which signifies *Viṣṇu*, one of the gods of the triad, who preserves life.

It, therefore, follows that from every point of view, whether it is art, *tantra* or science, the one diagram called *bavadi* in Folk-art, known as *sarvatobhadra* in *tantra* and as structure of two important bio-chemicals being connected with life, is essentially auspicious.

Conclusions

From the above discussions it follows that the myriads of forms found in art, *tantra* and science, have very much in common. Despite their different interpretations their purpose seems almost alike. Where in case of *tantra*, the form and content of these motifs are more symbolical they are concrete and explicable, so far as the science is concerned. But, how these designs, which were meant primarily for satisfying the aesthetic sense, were acquired by the *tantriks* and the scientists for their own purpose is a matter for further research,

How did the great masters assign these art forms to various gods and goddesses in the way we find them today, and charged them with mystic powers? We have no answer to offer, except that through rigorous *sadhana*, extending over decades, they were able to visualize and ascertain their hidden powers, in the same way as does the microscopic eye, which reveals various forms to the naked eye. Otherwise, who could have been able to say that the structural formation of tiny snow flakes is hexagonal, a hexagon of unimaginable beauty and decorative value. And here is something intriguing indeed, when I say, that these structures of snow flakes can easily be mistaken for common decorative art forms drawn by the women-folk, and that it would make the job pretty difficult if the two kinds of forms were thrown together.

How is it that Nature has employed this form so extensively and so variously? How is it that most crystals and organic chemicals are hexagonals in pattern and also the structures of

porphyrine and chlorophyll, so connected with human life, are like the *sarvatobhadra maṇḍala* in formation.

These points are for investigation. Conception of science which deals with space, time and matter, is not new to Indian mind. What scientific conclusions modern science is arriving at today through its most sophisticated and elaborate equipments, are, in a number of cases, only corroborating the scientific concepts formulated by ancient Indian mind without these mechanical aids centuries before.

How did they do that? Of course, through meticulously accurate calculations and mystic powers which could penetrate through space, time and matter. Through their intuition, through their occult powers, where the masters could, on the one hand, realise mystic significance of these motifs, they could, on the other hand, determine their scientific properties and formulate scientific concepts.

Commenting on the cosmological conception in ancient India, Peter Hedervari writes :

“ It is well known that the ancient wisemen of India had astonishing intuition with the help of several methods of yoga. For example, as the late famous Hungarian scientist Dr. E. Baktay mentioned in one of his books about India, they knew of the existence of bacteria about 2,000 years ago, even though they had no microscope. With their wonderful intuition they could recognize certain laws of Nature and various correlations among phenomena. Their extraordinary intuition also led them to ideas about the origin and development of the Universe and its dimensions in space and time. Thus they speculated upon the age of the Earth, and even the age of the Universe,... ” ¹⁶

In this way by analysing these aspects of various art motifs we may be able to trace the history of Sciences in India, because their history would be the history Sciences as such.

16. Hedervari, Peter ; Cosmological Conception in Ancient India & Modern Cosmology ; Vijñān Karimi ; Vol. XVIII, No. 11, November, 1966 ; New Delhi.

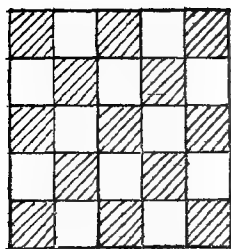


Fig.1. CHESS BOARD PATTERN

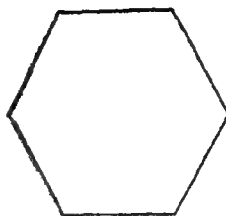


Fig.3a. ŞATKONA=HEXAGON

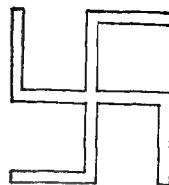


Fig.2. SWASTIKA

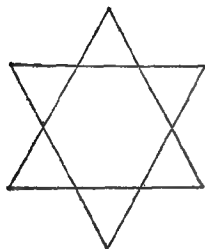


Fig.3b. SIX POINTED STAR-
HEXAGRAM

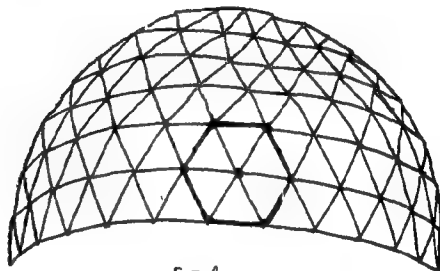


Fig.4
THE MAJESTIC GEODESIC DOME

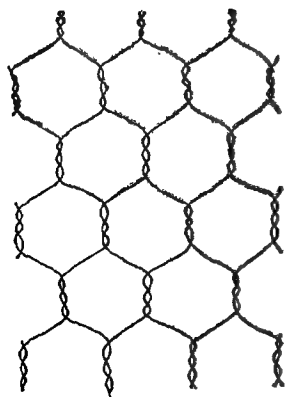


Fig.5 CHICKEN WIRE NET WITH
HEXAGONAL PATTERN

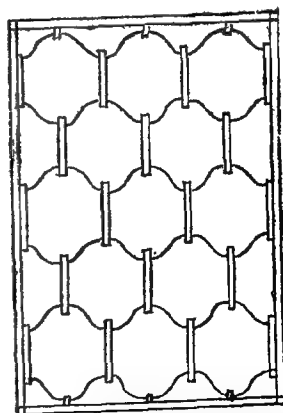


Fig.6 ROLLING SHUTTERS WITH
HEXAGONAL EFFECT

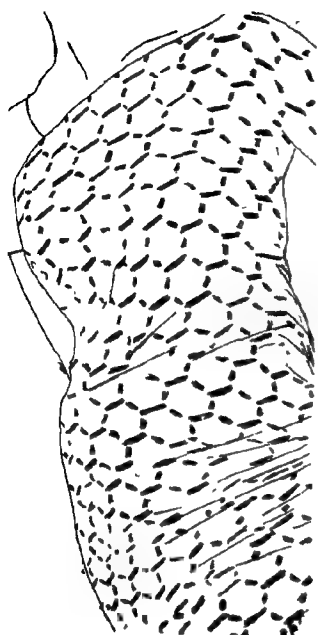


Fig. 7. SARI DESIGN WITH CHICKEN WIRENETTING EFFECT

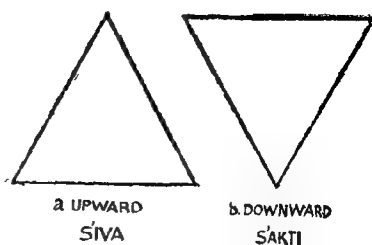
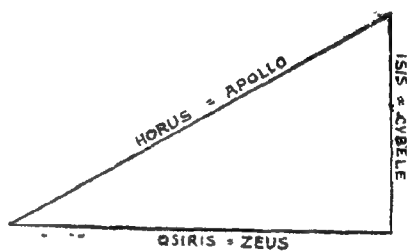
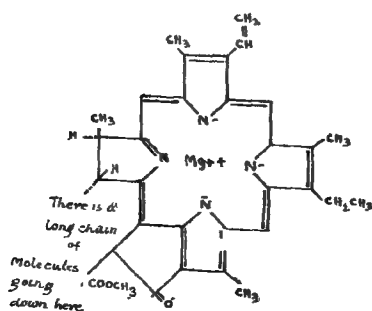
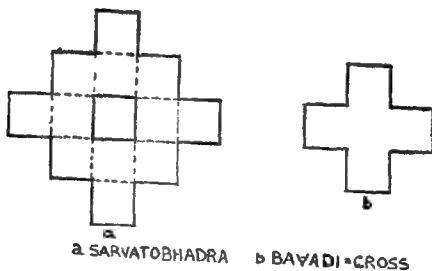


Fig. 8. TRIKONA = TRIANGLE



C. PLATONIC RIGHT-ANGLED TRIANGLE

Fig 9.



C. CHLOROPHYLL STRUCTURE

SECTION III: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

(Note: Titles of books and periodicals are in italics; books are listed first and then articles, all in alphabetical order).

Abbreviations

ABORI :	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BSOAS :	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BRMIO :	Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture
E & W :	East and West
IAC :	Indo-Asian Culture
JAOS :	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASP :	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan
JGJRI :	Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute

ART

INDIA :

Indian Aesthetics and Art Activity; (proceedings of a seminar, pp. iii 327, Simla : Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1908, Rs. 40/—; 51sh.; Rev. *JAOS*. Vol. 90, No. 4, 1970, pp. 592-593.):

The aim of the seminar, in the words of Dr. Niharranjan Ray was to find out a correlative of aesthetics as a discipline in speculative thinking and actual objects of visual arts as products of individual or group activity in one sphere of human life, specifically in the context of Indian but generally in the world art as well. The four main sections deal with the shades of thought bearing on the main topics. Special mention needs to be made of the last section dealing with modern movements in the world art with reference to European and American contemporary art.

Spink, Walter ; *Ajanta to Ellora* ; (Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of

Michigan, Groundplans and Illustration, 67 pp), Review; East and West New Series, Vol. 19 Nos 1-2, 1969, pp. 230-231).

This monograph begins with a historic background about Hsuan-ts'ang's description of Ajanta, of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist patrons who left their mark in the arts of Ajanta and of the Hindu dynasties who originated the new styles and subject matter of Ellora. The Buddha images are individually described along with the Hindu intrusions represented by the images of Siva and Parvati. Historical and stylistic considerations are harmoniously mingled by the author. The introduction by Mulk Raj Anand is not very appealing to the reviewer. The book is a valuable contribution to the art history of India.

HISTORY

INDIA

Raghavacharya, V. S., Venkata: *Bhāratīyam Vṛttam*; translation of A. A. MacDonell's *India's Past*; (with a foreword by Sri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. Kendriya Sanskrit Vidya-peetha, Tirupati, 1968, Pages xxii, 405, Price Rs. 19/-; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, PP. 424-425):

This is a sanskrit translation of Prof. A. A. MacDonnell's book, giving an insight into the cultural greatness of India from a modern standpoint. The translation is very faithful and looks like an original composition.

Majumdar, Dr. R. C.; Navy in Ancient India; (*IAC*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1970, Pp 37 to 42):

It is now proved that even as far back as 1000 B.C. Indian trading vessels carried merchandise to foreign countries. The Greek sailor Pliny and, later on, Fahien give a good account about them. The Artha Sāstra contains specific reference to piracy in Indian waters and the duty, in this regard, of the superintendents of Boats. Megasthenes records the work of the Admiralty Department of Mauryan organisation. In South India the Colas had to their credit a large navy with which they conquered the neighbouring islands. The Sailendras had strongholds in Samātra, Jāva, and Malay Peninsula and they fell to

the Colas, The English East India Company killed that naval enterprise due to commercial and political considerations.

Singh, Trilochan ; Guru Nanak and His Age : (*IAC.*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 1970, pp. 24 to 29) :

Guru Nanak was born when tyranny and bloodshed were the order of the day. Hence he disowned pacifism and turned a fiery Revolutionary with strong views against such movements as yoga, sufi, bhakti, atheist and sakti cults and orthodox revivalism with their mutual bitterness, fanaticism and erotic revelry. He was violently against the hypocrisy, the bigotry, the social tyranny and the corrupt and mischievous practices of the Brahmins, mullas and quazis. He glorified such aspects as the fight against tyranny and injustice of the heroes Rama and Krishna. The author concludes that "Our age is no better than the age of Guru Nanak and we have to proudly and firmly uphold the legacy of Guru Nanak and preserve the values for which he lived and died."

Trautmann, Thomas R. ; Length of Generation and Reign in Ancient India ; (*J.AOS.*, Vol. 89, No. 3, July-September 1969, Pp. 564-577) :

The question of the average length of generation and reign of kings in ancient India has been discussed from varying angles. Prof. Basham is not for judging it from the figures furnished either in the Purāṇas or in the Current Life Insurance tables. He draws the average by furnishing a list of 13 dynasties of North India and 9 of Peninsular India of medieval times. The average is slightly higher for the south than for the north.

S. E. ASIA

Majumdar, Dr. B. K. ; Champa (Vietnam) & Indian Influence ; (*IAC*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 1970, pp. 45-53) :

Basing himself upon solid proofs like monuments, inscriptions, foreign notices, the author traces the growth and expansion of Indian culture in Champa from circa 150 to 1400 A.D. Srimara is looked upon as the first historical Hindu King of hinduised dynasties such as Gangaraja. The Panduranga, the Bhriṅgu and

the dynasty of Harivarma held sway over Champa for a pretty long period when religious beliefs of India born of Saiva, Vaiṣṇava and Buddhist cults spread to the land with their purāṇās, varṇās, art, architecture and tantric worship. The author concludes 'The story of Hinduisation of Champa is, therefore, neither a fanciful account nor a patriotic outburst nor again a glorification of Hindu civilization but a fact illuminated by the purple light of history.'

TIBET

Bell, Sir Charles; *The Religion of Tibet*; (Oxford University Press, London. W.I., 1968, pp. 235 with 69 illustrations and 3 maps. Price Rs. 30. Review; *BRMIC* Vol. XXI, No. 1, January '70, pp. 19 to 22):

Basing himself upon authentic sources from Chinese, Tibetan and European writings and his own personal experience, the author has outlined here a historical account of the introduction and development of Buddhism in Tibet. Religion is the bed-rock of Tibetan life and culture. The old religion, Ponism, a sort of nature worship, gave place to Buddhism which infiltrated into Tibet from China and India through Nepal and Ladak in the 7th and 8th centuries. Santaraksita and Padmasambhava were the earliest missionaries to arrive and preach. Both the Vehicles were absorbed. The Mohammadan inroad gave a set back, after which Atisa came from Bengal to give new life to the religion. In course of time a theocratic state with the Dalai Lama as the head was set up. With the advance of the Chinese into Tibet we see a new turn in the events of Tibet.

LITERATURE

BURMA

Cornyn, William, S. and Roop, D. Haigh; *Beginning Burmese*; (Yale Linguistic Series) Pp. XXIII, 50) New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1968. Price \$ 3.75, 35 sh. Rev. *BSOAS*. Vol, XXXIII, part 3, 1970, Pp. 669-671):

The book contains in addition to a section on the sounds of Burmese, twenty five lessons on grammatic and syntactical material for learning Basic Burmese Colloquial Language. Much

stress is laid on the acquisition of correct pronunciation, and, to this end, some thirteen lessons in transcription are given. The main aim is to help a foreigner to express himself simply and correctly, in the spoken Burmese language.

INDIA

Krishnamurti, Dr. K. (ed.) ; *Sayana's Subhāṣita-Sudhānidhi*; (Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968, pages 310 Price Rs. 10 ; Rev. ; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 413 to 414) :

This is an anthology in Sanskrit arranged by the reputed and versatile scholar Sāyānācārya under the four well-known values of life, namely, Dharma, Artha, etc. The best and most representative verses from the Purāṇas and Pancatantra have been selected. Prakrit verses also find a place in the collection. The editor's introduction is lucid and instructive.

Raghavan, Dr. V. ; *The Number of Rasas* ; (Pp. XXI+230. The Adyar Library Series 23, Madras, 1967, Rs. 18 ; Rev. ; *JAOS.* ; Vol. 89, No. 4, October-December 1969, Pages 820-821) :

This is a reprint of articles originally published in research journals dealings with *Rasa* and *dhvani*. The number of *rasas* and whether *sānta* needs to be categorized as a *rasa* are discussed here, with supplementary ideas like the identity of *ālambana* and *Sthāyin* in the *Sānta*. Special mention is made here to the treatment of *Bhakti* by Bopadeva and Hemadri. The work is of great value to students of poetics.

Sri Ramamurti, Dr. P. (ed.) ; *Camatkāracandrika* of Viśveśvarakavicaṇḍa ; (Andhra University, Waltair, 1969, pages lx; 202, Price Rs. 15) Rev. ; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 415-416) :

This is a simple treatise on poetics based on five manuscripts including one from the Adyar Library, said to be the best and oldest. The author quotes Upaniṣadic authority in support of the existence of *Rasa*. The introduction is fully informative and the index is very useful.

Schokker, G. H. (Editor); *The Padataditaka of Śyamilaka*; Part I, (Indo-Iranian Monographs IX) pp. XIII+389, notes, appendices, bibliography, and 8 figures, The Hague and Paris; Mouton and Company, 1966, Price Dutch Guilders 58., Rev. *JAOS.*, Vol. 90, No. 4, 1970, pp. 594-595):

This is a critical edition based on six manuscripts of S. India of one of the four monologue plays (Bhānas), commonly known by the title of *Caturbhāni*. It must have been composed between 455 and 510 A.D. by Syāmilaka, a native of Kashmir and a younger contemporary of Kālidāsa. The introduction is instructive followed by notes on cultural points, questions of interpretation and phrases and usages common in the period.

Venkatacharya, T and Sambamurthy, V: (Ed.); *Dasarūpaka-Paddhati*; (467, Poonammali High Road, Madras-10, 1968, Pages 69; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. I to IV, 1969; Pp. 416-417.)

The author, a versatile scholar and a renowned commendator, has to his credit this tract of dramaturgy in 110 anuṣṭubh verses. In some aspects he differs from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Dasarūpaka* in his definitions. The Editors have brought out the salient features of the work in the introduction. The occasional notes clarify portions of the text needing elucidation.

'Videh' Vidyānand; *The Exposition of the Vedas*; Vol. I.,; (The Veda Samasthana, Ajmer, 1964, Pages 152, Price Rs.4/-; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, Page 429).

The book is a specimen translation from Hindi of the author's exposition of the four Vedas. A well-known saint-philosopher, Vidyānand has planned to translate the four Vedas in 20 Volumes. If accomplished the work will be helpful even to a common man with an avidity to know the import of the Vedas.

Vishva Bandhu, Acharya; *Vedasastrasāṅgrahah*; (Sahitya-ratnakosah. Vol. I, Selections from Vedic and Sastric Texts) Pp. XXXIX 381, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1966, Rs. 15.00; Rev.; *Jaos.*, Vol. 89, No. 3, July-Sept. 1969, Page 665.)

It covers extensive selections from the Vedas and Sastras; both padhyas and gadyas, with necessary annotation and references. It serves as a good anthology of Sanskrit Literature.

Goldman, R and Masson, J; *Who Knows Ravana? A Narrative Difficulty in The Valmiki Ramayana*; (ABORI Vol. I Parts I to IV 1969, pp. 95 to 100):

A study of the *Āraṇya* and *Kiṣkinda* Khāndas reveals that with the exception of the vulture brothers Jatāyu and Sampāt, very few people, even in kingly positions, seemed to know who Rāvaṇa was and where he held sway. And yet, Viṣṇu cannot be expected to take human form merely to chastise an obscure Rākṣasa chieftain. The authors quote from the *Rāmāyaṇa* verses to show that even Rāma was unaware of the nature and whereabouts of Rāvaṇa. Even Sugrīva, who lists the names and details of a number of Rākṣasas, is totally ignorant of Rāvaṇa. The authors draw certain interesting conclusions from this intriguing point.

Kantawala, Dr. S. G., *The Sangamaniya Gem Episode In The Vikramorvasiyam*; (JGJRI, Vol. XXV, Parts 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 417 to 423):

While dramatising the story of the love between Purūravas and Ūrvasi, the celestial hetaira, poet Kalidasa introduces the episode of the Sangamaniya Gem. It is a magic stone, which, as its name implies, is potent to unite lovers separated due to (here) a curse. The poet also utilizes the *Indrānugraha* episode, as a natural sequel to the uniting gem episode, thus giving credit to the words of a *muni* and giving credence to the poetic dictum that a drama must end as a comedy. The entire story of the episode is narrated here.

Panse, G. M.; *Vagṛva Viśva Buvanāni Jagñe*; (Word is a creative Power); (*Saradapitha Pradipa*-Vol. X. No. 1, Feb. 1970, pp. 7 to 14):

The paper contains extensive quotations from the vedas, Manusmṛti, Jaimini Sūtras and Mahābhārata to substantiate the creative power of the basic words of the Vedas as contrasted with the conventional language of people found in classical Sanskrit.

The author notes that in the process of universal creation sound was the first to appear in the Universe and that is the *Vyāhṛti*. The R̥ṣis in their trance absorbed the sounds and reproduced them in the form of the R̥ks., of the Vedas. Hence the Vaidic word, if pronounced correctly is sure to produce the desired effect even if the reciter is ignorant of its meaning. And so it is called the *Mantra*.

Sharma, U. C.; Madhuccandas Vaisvāmītra (in the Vedic and Post-Vedic literature) (*Saradapitha-Pradīpa* Vol. X, No. 1, Feb. 1970, pp. 15-24.):

Madhuccandas (meaning "desires honey for singers") was said to be the midmost of the 101 sons of Visvāmītra originally the ruler of Kanauj. He is credited with excellent r̥ks. and is the seer of 11 hymns of the R̥g. Veda. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* gives the story of the part played by Madhuccandas in the affairs of Sunassepa and of how by pleasing his father, he was blessed by him. The *Purāṇas* give varying accounts about him including a change in name. He is a famous Pravara ṛṣi and his son Aghamarṣana has acquired vedic fame.

PHILOSOPHY

INDIA :

Anirvan ; *Upaniṣad Prasanga* ; (Upaniṣadic Studies) Vol. II (Bengali) Publied by the University of Burdwan, 1969, pp. 200 Price Rs. 4/-; Rev.; *Bṛmic*, Vol. XX, No. 11-12, 1970; pp. 256-257.):

This is the Seventh Book in the series of Sanskrit publications of the Burdwan University. It deals with the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, in particular and the author incorporates the last four chapters of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, forming apart of the *R̥g. Veda*. The speaker is Mahidas, son of Ilara and the story connected with him is similar to the Satyakāma-Jābāla episode in the *Chāndogya*. Here much stress is laid on Prajñāna.

Buitenen, J. A. B. Van; *Rāmānuja on the Bhagavad-Gītā*, a condensed rendering of his *Gitabhāṣya* ; (Motilal Banarsidass,

Jawarharnagar, Delhi, 1968, pp. XIII, 189, Price Rs. 20/-; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 405-406) :

The essence of the Gīta, according to Sri Rāmānuja lies in the stress on a life of action for the proper functioning of the world and the way to release is by Bhakti or devotion to a personal deity. The author feels that the doctrine of release and the love-inspired theism of that philosopher 'lifted Vedānta from the intellectual sphere to the plane of philosophy.'

Cammann, Kl.; *Das System des Advaita nach der Lehre Prakāśātmanis*; (Munchener Indologische Studien, 4 pp. xvi-180, Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz 1965, DM. 30-Rev.; *Jaos.*, Vol. 89, No. 2, April-June, 1969 pp. 439 to 440) :

The book is a study of Prakāśātman's *Pañcapādikavivaraṇa*, a commentary on Padmapada's *Pañcapādikā*, which, in its turn, is a commentary on Sankara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. The author feels that Prakāśātman's contribution to the development of Vedānta is more important than Vācaspatimisra's. The work is a systematised interpretation, explaining the content of the Sanskrit text, and adding explanations where needed. The author goes further to relate Prakāśātman's philosophy to modern western thought.

Diwana, Mohan Singh Oberoi; *My Spiritual Experiences*; (Chandigarh, 1964, 176 pp. Rev. *East & West New Series*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, 1969, p. 265).

Here the author speaks of such philosophic thoughts as *Puruṣa and Ātman*, experience beyond Death and the concert of Amṛta, of the inner preparation (*samādhi*) and the value of Vedic *mantras*. He has the supreme conviction that each individual carries the potentiality within himself.

Gerber, William; (Ed.); *The Mind of India*; (pp. xxix-256, New York; The MacMillan Company, 1967; price \$ 6.95; Rev.; *JAOS*, Vol. 89, No. 2, April-June, 1969, pp. 449-450.) :

Just half of the book is devoted to translations of Vedic and classical Indian texts, with sections on Ancient Vedāntisms, Ancient Buddhism, Ancient Jainism, Ancient and Medieval

Epitomes and commentaries etc. The last one covers excerpts from *Bhagavat Gita*, *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, *Manavadharmasastra*, *Tirukkural*, *Mahānirvāṇatantra* and the six traditional schools of Hindu philosophy. The second half, which is well treated, includes examples of Modern Mysticism, Twentieth Century Popular Philosophy, and theories of value, the self and God.

Hattori, Masaaki; (Trans. and annotator); *Digṇāga, On Perception, being the Pratyakṣapariccheda of Digṇāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya from the Sanskrit fragments and the Tibetan versions*: (Harvard Oriental Series Vol. 47, pp. xiv + 265. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968. \$ 10.00 Rev. *JAS* Vol. 89 No. 2, April-June 1969, pp. 434 to 437.);

The book represents a forward step in understanding the system of Buddhistic logic with particular reference to the other schools of Indian philosophy. Though, in India, Dharmakīrti's six logical treatises threw Digṇāga's works into the background yet the translator Hattori has by his endeavours recovered most of Digṇāga's works. His research on the 'perception' chapter of Digṇāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya vṛtti* is specially significant in this context.

King, Winston, L.; *In the Hope of Nibbana. An Essay on Theravāda Buddhist Ethics*; (LaSalle, Illinois, Open Court, 1964, xii. 298 pp.) Rev. *E. & W. New Series*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, 1969, p. 267):

The author writes to say that the treatment of the theme of *karma* and reincarnation in context with human morality is called for. While studying the practical side of views of Theravāda he feels that therein lies the greatness of Buddhism, since it addresses every level of human awareness, from the heights of 'void' to the simple rules of eight-fold path. Therein we find a room for the philosopher, the man of religion, the mystic, the yogi and the man in the street.

Shrivastava, S. N. L.; *Śaṅkara and Bradley*, a comparative critical study; (Motilal Banarsidass, Jawaharnagar, Delhi, 1968, pp. 272, price Rs. 25; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*; Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 402-404);

The work is an attempt to make a comprehensive and systematic study of the Advaitic Philosophy of Sri Sankarācārya and the Absolutism of Bradley. In the 13 chapters covering the entire philosophic concepts of both the original thinkers, fully substantiated arguments are advanced, supported by quotations from the original. The author feels convinced that Sri Sankara's philosophy has a bright future in the East.

Welbon, Guy Richard: *The Buddhist Nirvāṇa and its Western Interpreters*; (pp. xi + 320, Chicago and London University of Chicago Press, 1968, \$ 8.50; *Rev. JAOS*. Vol. 90, No. 4, 1970 pp. 589-590).

This book incorporates materials from articles by Western authors and expands the survey to cover western interpretations of Buddhist *Nirvāṇa*. The volume of materials collected and the introduction covering the proto history of western Buddhist studies are highly commendable. The concept of *Nirvāṇa* is such that its nuances vary from annihilation and bliss, negation and affirmation and non-existence and existence. The author rightly feels that it may not be a philosophical conception and that we are just on the gateway to an understanding of it.

Kalupahana, D. J.: *Dināgas theory of immaterialism*; (*Philosophy East and West*: Vol. XX. No. 2, April, 1970, pp. 121 to 128):

Vasubandhu, the exponent of the Yogācāra theory of idealism of Buddhists was followed by the illustrious Dināga, the author of *Ālambanaparīkṣa*, who propounded a new theory of idealism. They varied in the types of arguments advanced. Dināga's Sautrāntika theory and its implications are outlined here at length with special reference to the treatment of sense perception. Pointedly, the *Ālayavijñāna* concept of the Yogācāra school is not advocated by Dināga and his followers. Thus Dināga gave an orientation to the idealistic theory of perception by modifying the absolute form of idealism of his predecessors by a theory of immaterialism based entirely on epistemological facts.

Pensa, Corrado; *On the Purification concept in Indian Tradition, with Special Regard to Yoga; East and West*, New Series, Vol. 19, Nos. 1 to 2, 1969, pp. 194 to 228):

The three aspects of purity found in Yoga are (i) an initial purity (*Sanca*) connected with the ritual, (2) mental purification (*Sattvasuddhi*) and (3) ultimate purification or separation (*Kaivalya*). These concepts are stressed in Vedism and Buddhism. The author here makes extensive comparison of these aspects with neo-platonism.

RELIGION

ASIA

Krishnan, Y.; Was It Permissible for a Samnyasi (Monk) To Revert to Lay Life; (*ABORI*, Vol. L., Parts I to IV, 1969, pp. 75 to 89):

Scholars consider that the vows of a *Samnyasi* or *bhikṣu* are not revocable. In Hindu law, confirmed by authoritative judicial pronouncements, a *Samnyasi* meets civil death, forfeits all rights to property, performs *Jiva* or *Ātma Śrāddham* and recites the *trivṛt Prasanna Mantram* after performing *Virajā Homam*. But outside India, renunciation is flexible and revocable in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and China. The *Parivrajakas* took a vow to be temporarily celebrate and then reverted to their former layman's life.

INDIA

Frazier, Allie M. (Editor): *Buddhism (Readings in Eastern Religious Thought Vol. II)* (Philadelphia; The Western Press, 1969, pp. 304, Price \$ 3.50 paper bound; \$ 6.00 hard bound; Rev. *Philosophy East and West*; Vol. XX, No. 2, April 1970, Pp. 198-199):

This volume comprises interpretative essays on the Buddhist tradition and selections from Buddhist Literature. Topics such as *Buddhism; Its Essence and Development* (Edward Conze); *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (D. T. Suzuki), *Philosophies of*

India (Zimmer) and selections from the *Essentials of Indian Philosophy* (M. Hiriyanna) are included. There is a very nice reprint from Ananda Coomaraswamy's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*. The concluding essay on Zen Buddhism is excellent as it deals with the depth of enlightened experience.

Jaiswal, Suvira; *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism* (pp. xv+266; One plate and one map; Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967, Rs. 25/- \$ 5.00; Rev.; *JAOS* Vol. 89, No. 3, July-Sept. 1969, pp. 638-639.):

The book is devoted to the historical development of Hindu Vaiṣṇavism. The chapters deal with Vaiṣṇava pantheon, focussing on the personalities of Nārāyaṇa, Sankarṣaṇa, Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa and Sri Lakshmi. Doctrines of Bhakti, ahimsa, incarnations, Avatars are also dealt with in addition to Vaiṣṇavite ritual observances. Footnotes given are abundant and accurate.

Joshi, Lalmani; *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*; (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1967, Pages xiii, 538, Price Rs 30/-; Rev. *Brahmavidya* Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 398 to 400.):

In this doctoral thesis, a lucid and systematic presentation of such details about Buddhism as its position in the different regions of India in the 6th and 7th centuries A. D., its moral and religious practices as inculcated in the monasteries, the education and learning imparted there, its later doctrinal controversies on the basis of the polemics of Kumarilabhatta and its decline later are furnished. The author feels that Tantric Buddhism had South Indian origin and the Saṁnyāsa concept in Hinduism was of Buddhistic origin.

Kashikar, Dr. C. G.; *A Survey of the Śrauta-Sūtras*: (Journal of the University of Bombay, Sept. 1966, Vol XXXV (New Series) Pt, II, Arts No. (41), the University of Bombay, 1968, pp. vi, 188, Price Rs. 3/- Review: *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 392-393.):

This survey is the result of a series three lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the University of Bombay.

The Srautasūtras, the main source of information concerning ancient Indian ritualistic practices are very useful for determining the real meaning and significance of the Vedas. The survey covers an extensive field like the genesis of the sūtras, the Vedic accent, the relation of the Srauta and Gṛhya Sūtras, the cultural data therein their chronology etc. It is well documented and is a valuable contribution to the study of the Srautasūtras.

Khair, G. S.; *Quest for the Original Gṛta*; (Somaiya Publications Pvt., Ltd., Bombay 14 (1969) pp. i-xiv 248 Price Rs. 32/-) Rev.; *ABORI*, Vol. L. Parts I to IV, 1969, pp. 129 to 131)

Serious aspects of doctrinal inconsistencies, ideological repetitions and linguistic and stylistic inequalities revealed in the study of the Bhagavadgīta, as we find it to-day, has set the mind of the author thinking, as to whether it is not a mixed fare, contributed by three different authors belonging to different periods of time, The *Niṣkāma Karmayogā* preached in the first 6 cantos to Arjuna is at variance with the devotional theism and renunciatory ethics preached in the third six cantos, so that even Arjuna baffled by such varying concepts, repeatedly expresses his inability to draw a final conclusion. Hence the author uses 3 different colours while printing the first, second and third six cantos. The idea, though revolutionary, seems meaningful and such interpolations are not uncommon in those early days when people were swayed by varying religious ideologies.

Maharaj, Panniyasa Sri Ramanikavijayaji; (Editors and compilers); *Jñānanjali*, Pujya Muni Sri Punyavijayaji *Abhivadana Grantha*; (Felicitation volume to the worshipful Muni Sri Punyavijayaji) (pp. 24 + 324 + 132 + 115. Baroda; Sri Sagar Gaccha Jaina Upasraya, 1969, Rs. 15; Distributor: Sri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay 26 WB, India; Rev.; *JAOS*; vol. 89, No. 3, July-Sept., 1969, Page 665.):

The book is a collection of felicitations and homage paid to the Jain scholar Sri Punyavijayaji for his scholarship and manuscript collections for the benefit of research scholars for the advancement of Jain studies.

Majumdar, Dr. A. K; *Chaitanya-His Life and Doctrine; A study in Vaishnavism*; (Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1969; pp. 392, Price Rs. 25/- Rev.; IAC Vol 19, No. 3, 1970, pp. 50 to 52.):

In the 26 chapters of the book the author outlines the biography of the saint, his God-vision and purity in word, thought and deed and his devotion, to the extent of ecstasy to Lord Krishna. Personal Bakti to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is his predominant feature. An account of the 4 traditional per-Chaitanya Vaiṣṇava sects, the concerned reformers and their works, a history of the conditon of Bengal and Orissa at the time of Chaitanya and the teachings and sampradaya propagated by him are fully dealt with.

Rao, Dr., K. B. Ramakrishna: *Theism of Pre-Classical Sāṃkhya*; (Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1966, pp. xviii, 472l Price Rs. 25 (10 or 65 sh); Review; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, page 396.):

This is a doctoral thesis, giving a succinct and connected account of the evolution of thought by stages, in the minds of scholars of the Sāṃkhya system, showing that the earlier Sāṃkhya was, like the Vedānta, theistic unlike the classical Sāṃkhya. The Sāṃkhya ideas expressed in the Upanishads, the Purāṇās, the Caraka Sāmhita and the Buddha-carita are also elucidated in this thesis.

Venkatachari and Smith, Daniel; *Pāncarātra Nool Vilakṣam*; (Pāncarātra Parisodhana Pariṣad Publications No. 1, Hoe & co., Madras, 1967 (available at 93, T. P. Koil Street, Triplicane, Madras-5), Pages 112; Rev.; *Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXXIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 407-409).

Among the sacred literature of the Hindus, the Āgamas form a significant part and they are said to have equal validity with the Vedas. As they are mentioned in the Upaniṣads and Epics, they are very old, representing the three main groups, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Sakta. All temple worship in India conforms to the ritual set forth in the respective Āgamās though, of late, certain deviations have crept in due to varying customs. The chief aim of this temple ritual is Mōkṣa through Bhakti.

Yamada Isshi; (Ed.); *Karunāpundarikā*, 2 Vols. pp. iii, 287; VII 421, 22 pp. London, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1968, Price £ 6-6 sh. Agents, Luzac. Rev; *BSOAB* Vol. XXXII, Pt. 3, 1969, pp. 627-622).

This work, commanding a wide popularity among the Buddhists, is a storehouse of myths, stories and concepts, found in the early literature of the Buddhists like the Jātakas and Avadhānas. Incidents connected with the life of the Buddha and his experiences in Samadhi are narrated to show his attention to ethics and social welfare, as part of the structure of Buddhism, thus disproving the idea that the Buddha was averse to world affairs. The work is an important contribution to the history of Buddhism.

Yoroi, Kiyoshi; *Gaṇeśagīta*; a study, translation with notes, and a condensed rendering of the commentary of Nilakantha, (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, xii) pp. xii, 201, The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1968, Price Guilders 28; Rev.; *BSOAS*, XXXII, Pt. 3, 1969, pp. 667):

It is a work in 414 stanzas representing matter found in the *Gaṇeśapurāṇa*, said to be a slavish imitation of *Bhagavadgīta*. Only, it substitutes *Gaṇeśa* in places in the Gīta where "Kesava" and other Vaiṣṇavite names occur. Nilakantha's commentary is ably summarised here.

Banerjee, Dr. P.; Early History of Jainism: (I. A. C. Vol. 19, No. 1 January 1970, pp. 5-23.)

The author traces the history of Jainism in India from the time of the founder Rishabha Thirtankara to the 5th century A. D. Mahavira's two immediate predecessors Arishtanemi and Parsvanatha were also historical personages. Even prior to Mahavira Jainism flourished and the Jains were known as 'Nirgrantha'. Due to royal patronage by the Saisunagas, especially by Ajatasatru and his son Udayan and by the Kalinga King Karavela, it flourished in India. The schism into two sects, Digambara and Svetambara came at the time of Bhadrabahu who went to S. India at the time of a famine. He refused to accept the canonical collection of the 11. Angas by Sthulabhadra at the Council at Pataliputra. In fact Dvaraka was the birth

place of Arishtanemi and the scene of his missionary activities. The main tenets of the religion, its great preachers like Kalakacarya, Samanta-badra, Balakapinca, the stupis built and other details found in the Hatigumpha inscriptions are well portrayed here.

Barua, P. R.; *Buddha, And The Gods*; (*JASP*; Vol. XIV No. 2, 1969, pp. 113 to 128).

Early Buddhism believes that all the Gods are subordinate to the Buddha as they are liable to rebirth, their final release being held up by their karma. The Buddha has been described as the teacher of Gods and men. The Exalted one asked the monk Upavana to stand aside so that the Gods, coming from far off distance, may behold him. Sakka and Brahma took instructions from him after paying obeisance to him. The truths unknown even to the Gods were answered squarely by the Buddha as he was the First Cause of all.

Haq, Muhammad Enamul; *Pānch-Pir*; (*JASP*, Vol. XV No. 2, 1970, PP. 109 to 128).

The cult of Pānch Pīr of five Saints is common over Northern Indo-Pakistan sub continent. The quintette is collectively held sacred as it is said to possess occult powers. The personnel of the five varies in various accounts. Homage is paid to the holy five, in a prescribed manner, with due devotion, to pray for warding off epidemics like cholera, Smallpox, typhoid, cattle diseases etc. The Hindus revere the Panca Kanyās, Ahalya, Draupadi etc. to neutralise sins. The practice is slowly disappearing, in the context of modern life.

TIBET

The Complete works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect; (Complete fac-simile Edition from the Original in 15 volumes-Published by the toyo Bunko Tokyo, Japan, Price U.S. \$ 500):

This is a reprint of the original, elaborating in 15 volumes, the contribution by five great masters to the aims and principles of Sa SKYA sect of Tibetan Buddhism, during the period of its

glory. It covers a wide field and serves as a thesaurus for the study of Lamaism. It includes the doctrines of Buddhism, the biographies of eminent ecclesiastics, grammar of the sanskrit and Tibetan languages and the history of the period. It is sure to be of immense help to the scholars, Dr. G. Tucci and Prof A. R. Stein in furthering the scope of their epoch-making studies of Tibetan Buddhism.

SOCIOLOGY

INDIA :

Joshi Lalmani; *Studies In The Buddhistic Culture of India*; (during the 7th and 8th centuries A. D.); (Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi 7, 1967; pp. i-xli + 538, Price Rs. 30/-; *ABORI*, Vol. L, Parts I to IV, 1969, pp. 133-135).

This book presents authenticated materials of the aspects of Buddhistic culture in India during the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. when some master-minds of ancient India fought tooth and nail for the defence of their varying doctrines. Typical examples of such savants are Sāntideva, Dharmakīrti, Sāntiraksita, Uddyotakara, Kumarila, Sankara, Sankarānanda, Gaudapāda and Nāgārjuna. Chinese records, Tibetan annals and archaeological references are made use of to evolve a dependable history of Buddhism and the culture of India during the two centuries.

Leifer, Walter ; (Of the German Consulate, Bombay), *India and the Germans* ; (Shakuntala Publishing House ; Rev. Bulletin of the Embassy of F. R. G. Vol., XIII No. 5, March 1971, Page 8).

The book is a well-planned account of 500 years of Indo-Germanic contact in all aspects of social, economic and religious fields. A fascinating picture of India as a "Dreamland of Medieval Pilgrims and poets" is painted here based on the religious and philosophical literature of India and the successive German scholars who made almost a mastery of her by delving into the depths of knowledge enshrined in them. As one in the German Consulate in Bombay the author commands a wide

knowledge of political relations of India which he has pressed into service while writing the book. A fund of information and a wide range of topics have been packed in this volume.

Moore, Charles, A. (Ed.); *The Indian Mind* (Essentials of Indian Philosophy and Culture); Honolulu; East-West Centre Press and University of Hawaii Press, 1967, pp. 458, Price 9.50. *Rev. Philosophy East and West*, Vol. XX No. 2, April 1970, pp. 183-193.):

This is a very lengthy and rather highly critical review of the Book, which is a collection of papers (now somewhat revised) by participants, in the East-West Philosophers Conferences held in 1939, 1949, 1959 and 1964. The Editor opens the book with his excellent essay "The comprehensive Indian Mind." The papers by Raju, T. M. P. Mahadevan, Nikhilananda, S. K. Saxena, Malalasekhara, Bhattacharya and Takakusu are specially commented upon. In the opinion of the reviewer the best article in the last section is Tarachand's 'The Individual in the legal and political Thought and Institutions of India.' Most of the contributors shine better in debate than in expository format. The work is a good anthology of topical articles.

Radhakrishnan, Dr, S.; (Ed.); *Mahatma Gandhi. 100 years:* (Published by Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi—Price Rs. 17.50; *Rev., IAC. Vol. XVIII, No. 4, October 1969;* pp. 63 to 65.):

This is a collection of sixty articles contributed by such eminent people as the President of the Indian Republic, Prime Minister, Members of the Cabinet, foreign writers, Hindu Sanyasis, and Christian missionaries. All aspects of the genius of Gandhi, with a special emphasis on his permanent and unique contribution to humanity are vividly brought out by the authors. The work is an excellent introduction to Gandhiji's personality and life.

Sircar, D. C.; *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India*; Vol. I Society; (Pages (1), IX, 321, Calcutta; K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1967, Price Rs. 25— *Rev.;* *BSOAS, Vol. XXXII, Pt. 3, 1969, p. 669*):

It is a collection of essays, written at various periods, by distinguished historians. Such topics as Aryanism with special reference to Licchavi and Ambastha, Andhra and Karnata, Dravidians in 'North India' are interestingly dealt with, with an anthropological outlook.

Ghosh, Sachindra Lal ; (Editor) ; *The Indo-Asian Culture* : (Vol. XVIIĪ No. 4, October 1969, Published by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, pp. 79) :

This issue of the journal is mainly devoted to articles on Mahatma Gandhi, in view of the fact that 1969 is the centenary year. The six articles there contributed by eminent scholars are on the following topics : Satyagraha and the Present-day World. Economic Ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, What Mahatma Gandhi means to Indians Overseas, Gandhi and the caste-system and untouchability, Gandhi and Education and Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi. They highlight Gandhi's pragmatic approach to problems of ethical, economic and spiritual interests as having a close bearing on political regeneration of India and a humanistic approach to problems of life.

Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind ; *The Early Buddhist View of the State* ; (*JAOS.*, Vol. 89, No. 3, October-December, 1969, Pp. 731 to 738).

The adventitious and circumstantial manner in which Buddhism viewed the State is described here. It is a study of the balance of forces between Āgñā and Dharma limiting the potential despotism of the State to the moral aspect. Thus according to the Buddhists the State becomes a moral Institution.

Perumal, V. ; *The Tamil Society of the Sangam Age* ; (*JGJRI* ; Vol. XXV, Parts I to IV, 1969, pp. 381 to 395) :

A close study of the Sangam Literature reveals the advanced position of Tamil Society in ancient times, The author devotes sections here dealing with the Literature, Education, Society, marriage customs, morality, religion, culture, athletics, polity, economics, commerce, industry and fine arts of the ancient Tamils to show that they worked hard, earned well, and spent usefully and enjoyed their life.

Raghavan, Dr. V.: 'On Hindu World': (*Brahmavidya*, Vol. XXVIII, Pts. 1 to 4, 1969, pp. 284 to 302):

This article is a critical appraisal of the work 'Hindu World' an encyclopedic Survey of Hinduism, by Benjamin Walker, in two volumes, printed by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Dr. Raghavan notes with regret a number of facts appearing in Walker's work where he has chosen to detail the misstatement of facts about Hindu pantheon, philosophy and rituals with the main intention of subjecting them to easy ridicule. In fact it has proved to be similar to the publication by Miss Mayo entitled 'Mother India' which created quite a stir in the minds of the Hindus. The prejudiced view of the author Walker about Hindu concepts is regrettable particularly because a renowned publisher has published it.

Sen, Tripura Sankar; Non-violence in Human Relations (*BRMIC*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1970, pp. 14 to 18):

Among all creatures, the human beings are extremely self-centred and are, at the same time, socially and morally conscious. If 'live and let live' is our watch word and if we wish to establish the kingdom of Heaven on earth, we must adhere to non-violence, truth and purity of heart. The teachings of Manu, of the *Mahābhārata*, of the Buddhists and Jains, of Patanjali, of Christian scriptures, of the humanists and romantic poets of England, of Thoreau and Tolstoy and of Tagore and Gandhi centre round this concept. Pandit Nehru was never tired of preaching the doctrine of peaceful co-existence. If the present day ordeals of political warfare and ruthless massacres must disappear an atmosphere of ahimsa and adherence to truth must be created, failing which humanity will dig its own grave.

SECTION IV-A : INSTITUTIONS

Note: Country, subject and name of Institutions arranged in alphabetical order : institutions and their publications in italics.

GENERAL

CULTURE

The United Nations Library (New York) :

It was financed by a Ford Foundation Grant of \$ 6,200,000 (Rs. 4.65 crores) in 1959 and was dedicated to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld on November 16, 1961. Before this, the library was housed in the Secretariat building. The new building, of which three storeys are underground, can accommodate about 4,00,000 volumes and seat 300 readers besides the library staff. The first basement contains the magazine section with some stack and work-space and the other two lower basements contain the main book-stacks and the mechanical equipment. The floors above are used as the main reading room, reference and loan sections—also for the United Nations collections, the administrative offices and the lobby. The library caters chiefly for the permanent missions of member states and their delegations and for the Secretariat of the United Nations. Representatives of the press and non-Governmental agencies can, however, also consult it. Research scholars are permitted to use the specialised collections. The library maintains a collection of about 3,00,000 volumes ; books, journals, governmental and inter-governmental documents, pamphlets, maps and microfilms. Additions are made every year. In character, the library combines the functions of an international affairs information bureau with those of a research unit in the social sciences. Therefore, subjects like International Law, Economics, Social and Political Relations receive prominence. The reference section consists of more than 12,000 volumes in the form of encyclopaedias, directories, dictionaries, biographies, national bibliographies, press reviews collections of treaties, legal codes and constitutions. The Woodrow Wilson Collection (received as a gift) has about 12,000 documents

and 4,500 books and pamphlets pertaining to the activities of League of Nations during World Wars I & II.

The library receives representative newspapers from many nations ; from India, three English dailies, viz., The Times of India, The Hindu and The Statesman. All the periodical publications of the old League of Nations and its specialised agencies are stocked. The Document Reference Section contains about 20,110 volumes of United Nations publications and about 14,850 volumes of the publications pertaining to international organisations. This section has over 70,000 maps, atlases, gazetteers and travel guides. The information files on the flags and official seals of almost all countries are available. The statistical collection includes census reports, budgets, trade figures, bank reports and other official economic records from all the countries of the world and several non-governmental organisations. The audio-visual section maintains microfilms of important newspapers, microcards of documents of the Organization of American States and language training tapes and records. (*I.W.I.*, dated 29-11-1970.)

INDIA

CULTURE

Dharmarth Endowment Trust Fund: (Srinagar P.O. Jammu & Kashmir State):

Founded in 1846 by Maharaja Shri Gulab Singhji who donated 5 lakhs of rupees for it. Activities include preservation and collection of manuscripts, management of a library of over 6000 manuscripts, supervision of Shri Raghunath Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya and Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, giving higher education in Sanskrit and the teaching of the Vedas,

Natya Pathagar: (Calcutta):

A library in Calcutta devoted to the cause of the theatre and allied arts. Contains 4000 books in English, Sanskrit and Bengali being the personal collection of the famous actor, Shri Ahindra Chowdhury. It is managed by the Ahindra Chowdhury Trust. (*CNI*, January 1971.)

Niharika: (The Club of Guzal pictorialists C/o Chitra Studio, Sarangpur, Ahmedabad):

Founded in 1937. Activities cover photographic productions, participation in photographic exhibitions and holding of weekly meetings for discussions. Holds a library of photographic books, a slide projector, a collection of pictorial family and a movie projector. Is affiliated to the Indian Academy of Photography, New Delhi and to the Federation of India Photography, Bangalore.

Swadhyaya Mandala and Vedic Research Institute: (Anand asram P.O., Pardi, Guzarat):

Founded in 1918 at Aundh and shifted later to Pardi. Among its activities are critical study of Vedic literature, organizing Sanskrit Bhasha Sammelans, conduct of Veda examinations, collection and preservation of manuscripts, publication of books on all aspects of Sanskrit culture, Publications: Nine publications of the different Samhitas of the Vedas, translations of Mahabharata and Atharva Veda and portions of the other Vedas and four Journals in Marathi, Hindi, Guzarathi and English one in each.

Vedic and Sanskrit College: (Mulapet, Nellore):

Founded about 90 years ago as a small pathasala. It prepares students for Sanskrit and Telugu examinations and conducts research on influences of Sanskrit on Telugu literature. It has a library of 2000 books mostly in Sanskrit. Is affiliated to the Shri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.

DRAMA

Abhyudaya Kala Samiti: (Revenue Colony, Anantapur):

Founded in 1958 and registered in 1960. Staged dramas in rural parts of Rayalasima propagating the various schemes of the Five year Plans of the Government of India and of Andhra Pradesh. Holds periodical theatrical competitions of amateur societies. Publication: *Venkata Prabhu* (verses) *Abhyudayam* (Drama), *Swami Melakolupu* (Poems) Affiliated to the Andhra Pradesh Sangeeta Nataka Akademi.

HISTORY

The Lakshminarayana Parisadhana Mandali: (Tilak Road, Hyderabad, A.P.):

Founded in 1922 for collecting inscriptions and old manuscripts from Telengana and for encouraging historical studies and research work on Telengana history and publications on the above material. Its holdings include a number of palm leaf and other manuscripts. Publications: Telengana Inscriptions, Vols. I and II. The story of Shitabkhan (alias Sitapathi), an unknown hero of Warrangal.

MUSIC

Lok Kala March: (72, Janapath, New Delhi):

Founded and registered in 1959 to secure national emotional integration through the medium of national songs. Its activities cover the creation of a repertoire of national songs for community singing and organizing cultural functions in rural and urban areas to take art direct to the masses.

SOCIOLOGY

Literary House: (Lucknow):

First founded in 1953 at Allahabad and later moved to Lucknow. Mrs. Welthy Fisher, known as the Lady of Literacy House started the institution in response to a mandate from Mahatma Gandhi who asked her to go to the village and help the people there. To-day it has developed into 20 acre complex of class rooms, hostels, and auxiliary Buildings. In the 18 years of experimentation, Literary House has demonstrated that literacy to be effective should be taught in the language of agriculture, nutrition, health and family-planning. This is what is known as functional literacy which continues to be the bed-rock on which the whole superstructure of Literacy House is founded. Craft training is an important aspect of Literacy House programme as also a Mobile Library. In 1966 Mrs. Fisher purchased 75 acres of farm land near Lucknow and established the Young Farmers' Institute there. As Mrs. Fisher observes: "We don't want only to educate the villagers. We want them to put that education to work at bettering their lives." (*American Reporter*, 21-4-1971).

SECTION IV-B : SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

INDIA

CULTURE :

Lakshmanan Chettiar: (Pseud: "Somalay"—Somalay House, Nerkuppai, Ramanathapuram District, Tamil, Nadu, India):

Born 11-2-1921. Education: B. A. (1941); Diploma, Horniman College of Journalism, Bombay (1947); member of various scholarly societies; founder-member, International Association of Tamil, Research, Madras; member of A World Association of Writers-Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, Kalakshetra, Madras etc., Travelled around the world in 1948-49 visiting U. K., Western Europe, Czechoslovakia, U.S.A., Australia, Singapore, Malaya, Ceylon and Burma; has travelled intensively throughout India; Public Relations Officer, Annamalai University 1955-58; Section President, International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968; President, Tamil Writers' Association, Madras, 1965 etc. Is considered one of the foremost writers of travel books in Tamil; has reviewed and translated books for USIS; has delivered a series of lectures on U.S.A. for U.S.I.S., Madras; Collected rare manuscripts for Department of Tamil, Travancore University (1953); was chiefly responsible for compiling the first Bibliography of Tamil books for the Sahitya Akademi, (1954); has published and edited a number of books, monographs and brochures in English and Tamil besides contributing articles. To mention a few: *Folklore of Tamil Nadu*, *Chettiar Charities in Education*; *Chettinadum Tamilum* (Tamil); *Valarum Tamil* A Series of books on Travel (Tamil); eight volumes of District Encyclopaedias of Tamil Nadu (Tamil); five more await publication; a biography of Mahamahopadhyaya Kathiresa Chettiar.

DANCE

Chinna, Satyam Vempati (Madras) :

Born in 1929 ; teaches the Kuchipudi dance art in his Kuchipudi Art Academy at Madras. Brought up in Kuchipudi village ; he received his training from Tadepalli Perayya Sastri and Vedantam Lakshminarayana Sastri. Notable among Satyam's students are Ratna Papa Chandrakala, Shobha and Padma. (I.W.I. dated 17-1-1971, p. 11).

Krishnan Nair (Tripunitura, Cochin) ;

Born in 1914 ; famed Katakali artiste. A disciple of Guru Chandu Panicker, he caught the eye of poet Vallathol who brought him to Kalamandalam as one of its first students. There he received training under masters like Guru Kunchu Kurup. His portrayal of Pūtana (the demoness who suckled Krishna and was killed by him) earned him the title of Pūtana Krishnan Nair. A winner of Sangeet Natak Akademy award and the Padma Shri, he has performed all over India and abroad. Krishnan Nair is the head of the Department of Kathakali at the R. L. V. School of Fine Arts in Tripunitura, near Cochin. His wife, Kālyanikutty Amma, is a reputed Mohiniattam artiste. (IWI, 17-1-1971).

DRAMA :

Sastry, S. M. Y. (Bombay) :

Born in 1913 ; was educated at Waltair and in Madras. After a brief spell with All India Radio, he joined the Bombay Municipal Corporation in 1945. Ten years later he was promoted to Deputy Municipal Commissioner. He has acted as Municipal Commissioner a number of times. Sastry is keenly interested in the development of the Telugu stage, has written many one-act and full-length plays. He is President of the Shanmukhananda Fine Arts and Sangeetha Sabha, Bombay. (IWI, 17-1-1971).

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

INDIA

Agarwal Kedar Nath (Banda U. P.):

Contemporary Hindi poet Born in 1910; Age 60. Education at Allahabad University: M. A., B. L., Govt. advocate by profession. His 60th birth-day was recently celebrated by eminent Hindi writers all over India. Philosophically inclined to the school of Socialist realism; he is one of the authors of historical change in Hindi poetry. From lyrical pastoral to political satire his poetry was a wide sweep. Kedar is a strong bridge between the romantic-cum-mystic and progressive movements, the two prominent historical phases of the first half of the 20th century. Publications: *Neend-ke-Badal* (Clouds of sleep); *Yug-ki-Ganga* (the Ganga of the Age); *Lok-aur-Alok* (The People and Light); *Phool Natim, Rang Balti Hain* (Not the flowers but their colours speak); *Aag-Ka-Aaina* (The Mirror of Fire); *Samay Samay Par* (From Time to Time). CNI, Sept., 1970).

Gorakhpuri Firaq; (Bombay):

Eminent contemporary Urdu poet; his father was a scholar of Persian and Urdu and a poet too. Firaq's life has been full of trials and hardships, which however did not frustrate him but impelled him to "paint a world of beauty and love of his own conception and to make Nature speak of itself as though it were an embodiment of both human spirit and virtues." His knowledge and critical appreciation of English literature, made him rise above the tradition and orthodoxy of Urdu literature and break new ground. His real debt is to Wordsworth and Shelly. Often, during conversation in an intimate circle he tends to relapse into a comparison of his poems with those in English literature that inspired them and points out his superiority over them. His love of beauty in both idolising and idealising it; his fondness of nature in true Wordsworthian fashion, making it speak both for itself and man; his ecstasy, his despair, his frustration; his mixture of Urdu and Hindi diction; his original

and refreshing use of metaphors; his enjoyment as well as fear of the night; his treatment of the theme of the beloved; his relish of her charms even in her absence; his laments and complaints, in short, the entire stock-in-trade of an eminent poet—bear unmistakable marks of Indian, Persian and Western culture on the one side and Hindi, Urdu, Persian and English literature on the other. Won the Bharathiya Jnanpith award of Rs. 1,00,000 for 1969 for his 'Gul-e-Naghma' ("The flower of Melody"). *I. W. I.*, dated 29-11-1970).

MUSIC

Kabra Damodar Lal (Jodhpur):

Noted Sarod player: born 1926; son of the late G. L. Kabra, a brilliant sitarist of his time, he is one of the favourite disciples of Ustad Ali Akbar Khan. He is a member of the Rajasthan Sangeet Natak Akademi and the Principal of Rashtriya Kala Mandal, Jodhpur. He has participated in several national sammelans. (*I.W.I.*, dated 28-3-1971).

Krishnamurthy, Nedanuri (Secunderabad):

Born in 1927; a vocalist of repute. He joined the Vijayanagaram Music College in 1940, took a five-years course in theory and practice under the late Dwaram Narasinga Rao. Nedanuri owes a great deal to Dr. S. Pinakapani, the musicologist. He is now Principal of the Government College of Music and Dance, Secunderabad. (*I.W.I.*, 17-1-1971).

Krishna, Balamurali, M. (Vijayawada):

Born in 1930; is a gifted though controversial musician. A disciple of Pasupalli Ramakrishnayya Pantulu of Vijayawada, he gave his first public performance when he was only nine years old. Since then he has given concerts not only in many Indian centres, but also in Malayasia, Ceylon and Singapore. Balamurali is also a composer—he has composed *kritis* in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. He is a player on the Violin, Viola, mridangam and kanjira. Gifted with a pleasing voice, he is perhaps the

only Carnatic musician who is also a playback singer. Balamurali is Principal of the College of Music and Dance, Vijayawada. Recently he was nominated as Asthana Vidwan of Tirupathi Devasthanam. (*I.W.I.*, 17-1-1971).

Raghava Rao, Vijaya (Delhi):

Born in 1925: is proficient in varied fields—as musician, dancer, composer and choreographer. He has composed music for a number of films, including M. F. Husain's *Through the Eyes of a painter* and Mrinal Sen's *Bhuvan-Shome*. He is a gifted Hindustani flutist. Rao was awarded the Padma Shri in 1970. He is today Director of Music, Films Division (*I.W.I.* 17-1-1971).

PHILOSOPHY

Amar-Mnniji Shri Upadhyaya: (Narnaul Former Patiala State):

Born 1906 ; was initiated into the order of monks at the age of 15 as a disciple of Shri Prithvichandraji Maharaj of Swetambar Sthanakvasi faith. He was given every opportunity for further studies and for the development of his mind because his preceptor saw the latent qualities of his mind. He has deep knowledge of the old scriptures. He developed into a prolific writer and a poet besides being a outstanding religious teacher. His approach to religion was progressive but in conformity with the basic tenets of Jainism. His progressive views developed into an integral part of his mission, raising a crusade against the orthodoxy, which had started to sap vital sinews of society. He has been a dedicated devotee of unity in society and well-being of all people. As a true devotee, he does not recognise the barriers of caste, creed and status. Like a true Jain, he bears no malice or attachment towards anyone and bears true humanitarian feelings towards all human beings. This has been translated in his daily life. His stories, poems, biographical sketches and critical essays on religion and patriotism bear the strong imprint of his forceful personality. (*IWI*, 11-4-1971.)

Maharaj, Muni Shri Punyavijayji: (Bombay):

Has completed 62 years of renunciated life; is the author and editor of a number of learned treatises on Jain literature and philosophy. He is an authority on the Agamas, the basic texts of the Jains. The title of Agama Prabhakar (Illuminator of the Jain canon) has been conferred on him. His contribution to Jain studies is representative of the best in Oriental learning. His life is dedicated to scholarship. His research methodology has special characteristics. He does not draw conclusions but continues to gather and provide fresh data. He has also made a notable contribution to Indian literature by rearranging palm-leaf and paper manuscripts of Sanskrit, Prakrit and old Gujarati, found in different Jain Bhandars. To many of the old manuscripts, he has given important new readings. The reorganization of Bhandars at different places in Gujarat, Saurashtra and Rajasthan is a silent but a lasting service. In spite of his varied literary activities, his duties as a monk to the common men who approach him for devotion and knowledge are scrupulously carried out. He was the President of the Prakrit and Jainism section of the 21st Sessions of the All India Oriental Conference. (IWI, 11-4-1971.)

Maharaj Shri Deshbhushan Acharya: (Kothali—Belgaum District):

Occupies a place of pre-eminence in the religious leadership of Digambar Jains by his remarkable austerity and scholarship. Born at Kothali, he entered ascetic order at Kunthalgiri at the age of 16 with the blessings of Shri Jaikirti Maharaj while he was on a religious pilgrimage to Sametshikhar. This gave him an opportunity for a thorough and deep study of the holy texts. Later, he engaged himself in writing commentaries of the holy texts in Marathi and Hindi. He has made it a mission of his life to carry the message—of Lord Mahavir to far-off places. With this basic aim, he has toured India on foot delivering discourses, which lay great stress on the key principles of non-violence and non-attachment and their application in everyday life for betterment of Society, universal brotherhood and universal peace.

RELIGION

Anandamayi Ma (E. Bengal):

Born in 1896; known as Nirmala Devi in her childhood. She is credited with several miracle which perhaps explain the implicit faith of her followers. She does not seek support for any movement or mission. Yet she enjoys tremendous popularity and has ashrams at many places—Varanasi, Delhi and Brindavan being the main centres. Her devotees consider her a divine incarnation. (*I.W.I.*, dated 21-3-1971).

Baba Satya Sai (Puttaparthi, Anantapur District):

45 years old. Left his parental home at Puttaparthi, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh, at the age of 13, saying: "I am Sai Baba. I shall not remain here any longer. My devotees are calling me." (Sai Baba, the saint of Shirdi, through his message of love and compassion, commands a large following in the country to this day). The cornerstone of Satya Sai Baba's teachings are satya (truth), dharma (the law of righteousness), shanti (peace) and prema (love). He lays no claim to a long period of penance or realisation, but advises his followers to hold bhajan meetings and chant the name of God to bring about a spiritual awakening among the people. News of his miracles has gained him a large following in recent years and Satya Sai Baba has utilised his popularity to serve the cause of social welfare by establishing educational institutions and hospitals. Characteristic of his spiritual outlook is this pronouncement of his: "Our life is like a tree. Faith in God is the root of the tree. Our relations are its branches. The intellect is like a fragrant flower. Its fruit is bliss. The juice of that fruit is character. When the root is not good, the tree will not yield fruits or flowers; it will become just fire wood. Faith in God and character are vital for our life, Otherwise, life is in vain. (*I.W.I.*, dated 23-1-1971.)

Variar, Sri Kripananda (Madras):

Now in his mid sixties, has through eloquent lectures on religious classics done his mite to check the spread of atheism. He

establishes immediate rapport with his listeners, through his elegant language and persuasive appeal peppered with witty comments on current domestic political events. A devotee of Muruga, Sri Variar is well versed in religious studies. Born in a family of eleven children at Kangeyanallur near Vellore, Tamil Nadu, he learnt the rudiments of Tamil culture under his father Mallayyadas Bhagavathar. He also learnt to play the Veena under Thennadam Varadachari. He received initiation at the hands of Sri Easana Sivacharya. He has made a deep study of Tiruppugazh, Tirukkural, Thevaram and other Saivite literature. He publishes a journal called Thiruppugazh Amritham. He has received titles from Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi, the Jeer of Ahobila Mutt, the Dharmapuram and Madurai Adheenam and Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh. (*I.W.I.* dated 21-3-1971).

SECTION VI: ARTS AND CRAFTS

JAVANESE SHADOW PUPPETS — THE CRAFTSMEN AND THE ARTIST.

In the making of a shadow puppet of the fine workmanship of, for example, *Kresna*, two and sometimes three different kinds of craftsmen and an artist are involved. The first is the man who prepares the hide—Javanese shadow puppets are made of animal hide, usually that of the buffalo. (Such materials as cardboard and plastic have also been used). The second is the *penatah*, the man who fashions the puppet and cuts out the inner perforations, and the third is the gilder, though the gilding is probably sometimes done by the artist. There is also one other craftsman who is concerned in the completing of a shadow puppet, but he does not work on the actual hide. He prepares the horn for the central support and the manipulating sticks. Finally, there is the artist, the *penjungging*. The preparation of the hide is particularly important. Only a man who has considerable knowledge of the properties of hide and is proficient in the techniques of making it into parchment, will be able to meet the individual requirements of the cutter, the artist and the gilder. In the description of the treatment the hide undergoes, there is a marked difference in the nature of some operations, in their sequence and in the length of time each one takes. First the hide must be dried thoroughly. Usually it is stretched tightly over a frame, so that it will not pucker, and left to dry in the sun. When it is dry the hair is scraped or rubbed off after the hide has been soaked in water. With this last method the hide must again be put in the sun to dry. According to some descriptions, when the hide has been properly prepared it should be translucent and of a pale ivory colour. To achieve this all the fat in the hide itself must be removed. This is done by

soaking the hide in a solution of lime and water for varying lengths of time. This is said to be the best means by which these desirable features will be obtained, though smoking is reputed to be another.

In the course of its preparation the hide is rubbed down sometimes more than once, with leaves which have an abrasive surface or some other substance. This process is not only to make it smooth, but also to bring the hide to the thickness required, which differs according to the size of the puppet. It can also vary slightly on different parts of a puppet. For example, the puppet of *Arjuna* is less than one-sixteenth of an inch thick all over, whereas large puppets like *Kumbakarna* are about one-sixteenth of an inch thick with an increase of approximately another sixteenth on the face and head. Javanese shadow puppets are usually said to be made of leather. This term is incorrect. The material is parchment. At no time is the hide treated with tannic acid or any of the mineral salts which are used to make hide into leather. Another important difference between parchment and leather is that light can penetrate the former but not the latter. This parchment, when prepared by a skilled craftsman, is durable, unaffected by changes in climate and temperature, and impervious to attack by insects. The *penatah*, who cuts out the puppet from the hide and who does the inner perforations must have a piece of parchment that is flexible but firm to handle, and of the right texture, so that the small metal chisels will make a clean cut through it and leave no furry edges. Because it is primarily the features of the face of a puppet that establish the nature of the person it represents, a sharp edge to a perforation is essential. It is also necessary because the thickness of the cotton cloth of the screen does not make for a hard shadow. To perforate the hide the *penatah* may use between fifteen and thirty chisels, each of which has a differently shaped cutting edge. He lays the piece of parchment flat on a wooden block, then either traces the new puppet and all the inner details from a model placed on the parchment, or draws the whole thing from memory. He uses a wooden mallet to drive the edge of the chisel through the material. This is a craft in which the Javanese *penatah* excels. There is nothing haphazard in the way he uses his

chisels. Each cut is related to the one next to it with a precision that is not found in the work of craftsmen in other countries where the same technique is used on shadow puppets. And in no other country, not even in Bali, is such beautiful lace-like work done on shadow puppets. (Work even more delicate than that on these puppets is to be found on a few *wayang purwa* shadow puppets in museums in Holland.) The artist's and the gilder's needs are related to the nature of the paint and the gold leaf, and the method of applying them. They must have a flawless surface on which neither the paint nor the gold leaf will flake off or crack and which will not be affected by the moisture in the paint or the size for the gold leaf. For this, they require parchment that is free from all blemishes—such as scars produced by insects that bore into animal hide to lay their eggs—and above all, from which all the inner fat has been eliminated. The test of the latter is the translucency and the pale ivory colour. The artist's basic palette consists of black, white and the three primary colours, red, yellow and blue; his full palette, of perhaps sixteen different colours. In painting a puppet he works systematically. He applies the colours according to fixed rules whereby an accumulation of like colours is avoided, for example, red must be next to green not blue, yellow to blue, not to green. He follows an established method of gradation of each colour where it is appropriate and uses black hatching or a black or coloured stipple over the paint where usage decreases it. The puppet is painted identically on both sides, thus making it opaque. For neither the *penatah* nor the artist is there any scope for individual expression. Each must follow the rules associated with his work in the making of a shadow puppet.

When a puppet has been painted, gilded and varnished, the arms are attached, either by means of small bone pivots or plant fibres, and the central support and the manipulating sticks are fitted. These are made by a worker in horn, usually that of the buffalo. The horn is cut to the size required, filed and rubbed down, the piece for the long central support being bent by heat to whatever shape is necessary. This is split down its length, except for the part which serves as a handle. The puppet is inserted into the split and tied tightly between two

pieces of horn in three or four places. The manipulating sticks are usually attached with plant fibres to the palms of the puppet's hands. At the lower end of each stick there is a slight swelling which is known as 'the drop of water.' This is presumable to give the *dalang* an additional grip, though horn can be handled by a sweating hand without its slipping too much.

*(Reproduced from "Javanese Shadow Puppets"
published by the Trustees of the British Museum)*

SECTION VII: FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE OBOE IN INDIA¹

Nazir A. Jairazbhoy

The oboe² is widely disseminated throughout India and occurs in many forms, conical or cylindrical, with or without a pirouette, with seven to twelve holes, and with significant variation in size. The variety of contexts in which the instrument is found suggests considerable antiquity for its use. There is, however, a great deal of evidence to support the view that it was introduced into India by the Muslims, probably not much more than six hundred years ago.

In North India and Pakistan the instrument is generally called *shahnāi* (*śanaī*, *shenai*, *sonai*, etc.), but it is also known as *surṇāy* or *surṇā*, *mohorī* or *mahurī* (in Orissa), *pīpāhī* (in Bihar), *pīporī* (in Gujarat), and so on. In South India it is usually known as *nāgasvara(m)* (*nāgasura*, *nāgasara*, *nādasvara*), while the smaller version with its rather obvious name, *mukhaviṇā* (lit mouth *viṇā*), has largely been replaced by the Western clarinet.

In their most extreme forms there is very little resemblance between the *shahnāi* and the *nāgasvara*. Besides the obvious

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1. The term India is here used in the broader sense to include Pakistan and the other peripheral areas which have cultural affinities. The terms North and South India refer to regions which are not precisely delineated by political boundaries, there being a fairly broad ambivalent zone stretching across the country, roughly from Southern Maharashtra in the West to Southern Orissa in the East, where elements of both North and South Indian culture are to be found.
 2. Oboe is used here as in the Hornbostel-Sachs classification: "The pipe has a double reed of concussion lamellae" (1961: 27). Some of the Indian oboes, particularly those of Orissa, actually have a quadruple reed.

difference in size and shape, the *shahnāi* is generally fashioned from one piece of wood, whereas the *nāgasvara* has a separate, detachable bell. In spite of its cylindrical outward appearance, the *shahnāi* has a conical bore like the *nāgasvara*. The *shahnāi* has a pirouette and thus requires a blowing technique different from that of the *nāgasvara*. The *shahnāi* has seven finger holes and one thumb hole, whereas the *nāgasvara* has twelve holes—eight in front and two on each side.

Between these two extremes, there are a great number of oboe-type instruments in India, many having brass bells and brass sections below the mouthpiece. For instance, a *nāgasvara* type was found in Hubli, Mysore State, which clearly has a pirouette, while a more sophisticated *shahnāi* without a pirouette is used in North Indian classical music.³ In the orchestra of the Kōṭā tribe in the Nilgiri Hills, South India, an instrument similar to the *shahnāi* is used, while in Orissa some *mohoris* in many ways resemble more closely the *nāgasvara*, having a detachable bell and being somewhat larger than the common *shahnāi*. This indicates that the *shahnāi* and the *nāgasvara* types are not exclusively confined to North and South India respectively.

THE SHAHNĀI

The word *shahnāi* is said to be derived from *shāh* ('large') plus *nāy* or *nāi* (a 'reed,' 'pipe,' 'flute'). The instrument is, at present, used in three main contexts (although these contexts overlap considerably in North India.)

(1) *In the naubat*,⁴ as one of the leading instruments. The *naubat* is the type of music played at the gateways (*naqār-khāna* or *naubat-khāna*) of palaces and mausoleums at fixed hours of the day. It could also herald the arrival and departure of visiting dignitaries, and it is probable that the *naubat* tradition

3. Illustrations of the *shahnāi* used in classical music can be seen on some of Bismillah Khan's record covers, for instance, HMV EALP 1254, ALP 2312, and ASD 2446.

4. The *naubat* orchestra is depicted in a number of Indian miniature paintings (See e.g., Fox Strangways 1914:pl.6; Thomas 1956:pl.184).

was introduced into India before the Mogul period. We know of the existence of *nauba* and its association with the *surñay* in Arabia as far back as the tenth century A.D.⁵

In the *Āin-e-Akbarī* written at the end of the sixteenth century, the *shahnāi* is described as the Indian equivalent of the Persian *surñay* (Allami 1948 : 270), thus connecting it with the tradition that seems to extend from the Middle East to South East Asia and into China.⁶ During this period the *naubat* orchestra was very large and consisted of :

- 18 *damāma* 'large kettle drums'
- 20 pairs of *naqāra* 'smaller kettle drums'
- 4 *duhul* 'cylindrical or barrel-shaped drums'
- no less than 4 *qarnā* 'long trumpets'
- 9 *surñay* 'oboes' of both Persian and Indian types, some *nafir* 'smaller trumpets'
- 2 *sing(ā)* 'brass horns' resembling cow's horns
- 3 pairs of *sāñj* (*jhañjh*?) 'cymbals'

This ensemble required some sixty or seventy musicians (Allami 1927 : 53-54). The instruments used in this tradition and the music played were, as Captain Day put it seventy years ago, unique in India (Day 1891 : 96).⁷

At present the *naubat* is found only occasionally in India, and the orchestra is much smaller. One such orchestra is found at the shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer, Rajasthan. This *naubat* tradition appears to extend into the Hindu religious sphere and similar orchestras are also found at the gateways to temples, for instance at the Amba Devi temple in Kolhapur,

5. For a discussion of *Nauba* in Arabia (see Farmer 1929:153, 154).

6. Macedonian, *zurla* (de Hen 1960:57-73); Turkish, *zurna*; Arabic, *zamr* and *surñā* (also *suryānāi*); Iraqi, *zurnā* (?); Persian, *sorna* (*surñay*); Afghanistani, *sornai*; North Indian, *shahnāi*; South Indian *nāgasvara*; Sinhalese, *horana(va)*; Burmese, *hne*; Javanese, *sruni*; Atjeh, *srune*; Batak, *sarune*; Dayak, *serunai*; Cambodian, *sralai*; Malayan, *sernai*; Sumatran, *srunē*; Chinese, *suoonah* (Sachs 1923:155-57).

7. At the end of the sixteenth century, the tunes played by this orchestra were not Indian but Persian and there is a special reference to Khwarizmite tunes (Allami 1927:53-54).

Maharashtra, where the *shahnāi sur*⁸ (drone *shahnāi*), *nagārā* and *ḍholak* are present.

(2) *In folk dances and at festivals*: Throughout Northern India the *shahnāt* is also used in various folk dances, marriage ceremonies and processions. In many ways these orchestras closely resemble the *naubat* orchestra which at times was also employed for processions. The *shahnāi* is frequently accompanied by a *nagārā* (or *naqāra*) and *ḍhol* or *ḍholak* (compare *duhul*) in many folk contexts. Like the *surṇāy* in the Near and Middle East, the loud and penetrating tone of the *shahnāi* well suits it for use out-of-doors. In Bihar, for instance, there are professional or semi-professional groups such as the *nācanī* and the *naṭvā*, which consist of dancers, usually two, and an instrumental group composed of a *shahnāi*, a *ḍhol* and a *nagārā*. The *naṭvā* are hired for weddings and other festivities (Uppal 1959 : 30). The Brokpa, an Indo-Germanic tribe on the South Eastern slopes of the Himalayas in upper Kashmir, employ a similar orchestra for their weddings and processions.⁹ As an accompanying instrument for folk dances, the *shahnāi* is found almost throughout India. in Bengali-speaking Assam, the dance of the new bride, *bāu nāc*, in which it is accompanied by the *ḍholak* (Neog 1959 : 10); in Kashmir, a boy's dance *bacca naghma*, which includes the *ḍholak* and several other instruments (Rasika 1959 : 43); in Maharashtra, a dance of martial nature, *kalā*, accompanied by the *ḍhol* (Paranijpe 1959 : 47); and in Gujarat, a stick dance, *rās*, associated with Krishna and the Gopis, accompanied by the *ḍholak* (Banwari 1959:33). These examples, by no means exhaustive, reveal the extent to which the *shahnāi*, together with its accompanying drums, has penetrated into and been absorbed by folk traditions of the Hindus since the Muslim conquest of India.

(3) *In classical music*. The *shahnāi* has recently been accepted in North Indian (Hindustani) classical music. It maintains its

8. Sachs refers to the Indian drone oboe as *śruti* (Sachs 1940:230). To the present writer's knowledge, *śruti* refers to the tonic or drone primarily in South India. The term *sur* (*ṣvara*) is its North Indian counterpart.

9. A Brokpa orchestra was photographed by the late Dr. A. A. Baker more than thirty years ago.

individuality in that it forms part of a small, inseparable group, the *shahnai* party, consisting of two, three or even more *shahnais*—of which at least one supplies the drone (*sur*)—and a pair of small kettle drums, which seem to have several names: *ḍukar-ṭikar*, *duggi* and *khurdak* (being perhaps the most common). The drums resemble the *tabla* pair used in nearly all other contexts of North Indian classical music today, except that they are usually played with sticks, not with the fingers. The *shahnai* used in classical music appears to be longer, more elegant and sophisticated than the folk instrument.

THE NAGASVARA

In South India the *nagasvara* is also found in three principal contexts, and its role is in many ways similar to that of the *shahnai* in North India.¹⁰

(1) *In daily temple worship.* In Madras State, the instruments of the temple musicians include *nagasvara*, *ottu* ('the drone *nagasvara*') the slightly barrel-shaped of cylindrical wooden drum, *tavil*, and the cymbals *karatala*. The music is played by the Naṭṭuvanār caste,¹¹ which has a very low standing in the community.¹² Within the temple, the very sound of the *nagasvara* is thought to be auspicious, *maṅgalavādyā*, and thus to be more important than the music that is being played which is generally South Indian classical music, but played in a unique style. The music, being subordinate to the demands of the ceremony, may be interrupted frequently and suddenly.

10. The *naubat* tradition was apparently not entirely unknown in South India, as is suggested by the existence of drum stations, called *nagara maṅṭapa* (*nagara* being one of the principal drums of the *naubat*), between Srivilliputtur and Madurai deep in South India. These drum stations were built to inform the ruler at Madurai, Tirumalai Nayaka, that the religious worship at Srivilliputtur had ended, so that he could partake of his noonday meal. The information apparently travelled about fifty miles in five minutes (Sambamoorthy 1954:333-34).

11. The word seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *nāṭa*, 'actor, dancer, mime.'

12. In strict Hindu society it is considered unclean for the lips and *salivā* to come in direct contact with any object.

(2) *In folk dance and festivals*, The *nāgasvara* is also used at weddings, folk dances and other celebrations where auspicious sounds are considered desirable. There are several South Indian bands comparable to those in North India, for instance, the *nāgasvaram* band, *periya meḷam*, the folk orchestra *naiyaṇṭi meḷam*, which accompanies folk dances such as the hobby horse dance (Sambamoorthy 1958-302), and the Coorgi folk musicians who provide the music at Coorgi weddings. The Coorgi orchestra resembles the orchestra of the Koṭā tribe further South in the Nilgiri Hills, with the difference that the Coorgi oboe resembles the *nāgasvara* while the Koṭā oboe is much smaller and resembles the *shahnāi* of North India.¹³ The Coorgi oboe is called *olaga* and their drums, *ḍolu*, appear to be of both the *tavil* and *gholak* types.

(3) *In classical music*. Relatively recently the *nāgasvara* has been accepted as an instrument suited to classical music in South India. Curiously enough, the complete *nāgasvara* group which includes the *ottu* drone and the drum *tavil* remains intact, while the *mridaṅga(m)*, 'a double-conical drum of quite different construction generally accompanies the voice and the other melody instruments used in classical music.

NĀGASVARA AND SORNĀY

Like the *shahnāi*, the *nāgasvara* can also be linked with the *surṇay* tradition, as follows:

1. The *nāgasvara* generally resembles other instruments in the *surṇay* tradition. There are some indications that the differences between the *nāgasvara* and the *shahnāi*, sometimes so obvious, are not always so pronounced.
2. From textual references it would appear that the *nāgasvara* does not date earlier than the fifteenth century (Raghavan 1949 : 158)—well after the Muslim conquests in India.

13. It is interesting that the ceremonial dress of both the Koṭā and Coorgi musicians resembles some of the North Indian costumes.

3. The use of oboe-type instruments in weddings and other festivals throughout North and South India is also found outside India (Sachs 1940 : 248-49),¹⁴ and is linked generally with the *surmay* tradition.
4. Linguistically, *nagasvara* is not far removed from *surmay*. The basic difficulty is the correlation of *naga* with *nay* since *svara* and *sur* are often interchanged, e.g., the trapezoidal zither, *svaramaṇḍala* in India, is called *surmaṇḍal* in Pakistan. This is in fact brought out by the variants of *nagasvara* in some of the South Indian languages *nagasura* and *nagasara*.

The usual etymology from the Sanskrit *naga*, meaning 'snake' is not convincing, as the instrument has no connection with snakes at the present time. Supporting references are scarce and the snake charmer's instrument is not generally known by this term today, except in Orissa where it is called *nagesvara* (Sharma 1960 ; 43). The few references which do associate the *nagasvara* with snakes, may well be reading the association through the name of the instrument.

The characteristic snake charmer's instrument, *puñgi* in North India, *mākuti* in South India, is not an oboe but a double clarinet type of instrument. Each of its two pipes has carved from its wall at one end a percussion lamella, i.e., a single reed. The ends with the reed are inserted inside a bottle-shaped gourd which acts as an air chamber. One pipe supplies the drone, and other—which has finger holes—the melody. There is virtually no connection between this instrument and the *nagasvara* either in appearance or in the context of occurrence.

It appears that some South Indian scholars have been disturbed by the fact that the name *nagasvara* bears no relation to the present use of the instrument and they have attempted to foist the name *nādasvara* (*nāda* being 'sound,' 'tone' in

¹⁴ Sachs refers to an ensemble called *tabl baladi* (Egyptian?) which plays at weddings and circumcision processions. It consists of three oboes, a pair of kettle drums, *nagrazan*, and a cylindrical drum, *tabl baladi*.

Sanskrit) upon this instrument, an attempt that does not seem to have succeeded.¹⁵

There is, however, another name for the South Indian oboe and its music, *nāyanam*, which is often used in a slightly derogatory sense.¹⁶ The Madras Tamil Lexicon gives the variant, *nāyaka cinnam-cinnam* being the category of pierced instruments—for the *nāgasvara*. 'Nai' also occurs in *naiyāṇṭi meḷam*, the designation for the folk *nāgasvara* orchestra. Thus, it seems possible to argue that 'nāga' could have been derived from 'nāy' perhaps through the intermediate stage of 'nāyaka'.

5. The *nāgasvara* is nearly always accompanied by the double-faced drum, *tavil*, which has been connected with the North Indian *ḍhol* and thus with the Persian *duhul*. It has been transcribed as *dhavul* (White 1957 : 44). The cylindrical wooden body of the *tavil* has two skins which are stretched over hoops and laced on to the wooden frame with thongs. There is a strap around the middle which is probably used for tuning purposes. In playing, it is struck on one side with a stick, and on the other with the hand—the fingers being reinforced by narrow cloth bandages. Further evidence of the connection with North India is provided by the painting entitled *ḍhol* in Captain Day's work, which resembles not the common North Indian *ḍhol* or *ḍholak*, but, the South Indian *tavil*. It may have been from this source that Popley obtained the description of the *ḍhol* as the wedding drum of India—a description that further fits the *tavil* rather than the *ḍhol* (Popley 1950 : 125). From appearance it would seem unlikely that the common North Indian *ḍhol* and the *tavil* are related; however, the *tavil* may possibly be related in structure to one of the many varieties of the *ḍhol*, e.g., *ḍholak*, *ḍholki*, *ḍhalgi* etc., or to one of the folk instruments where the word *ḍhol* is used seemingly to indicate a general category, e.g., *bīhū ḍhol*, *ḍhak ḍhol*, *jay ḍhol* etc.

15. Raghavan (1949:158) has established quite convincingly that the name *nādasvara* is not supported by the historical evidence.

16. This information was given by Dr. J. R. Marr. In his paper (1949:158), Raghavan mentions the name *nāyanam* by which the *nāgasvara* is sometimes known, but presents the opinion that the word *nāyanam* is derived from *nāga cinnam*.

From the etymological standpoint, *tavil* can be more easily connected with the Near and Middle Eastern *tabl*, which appears in North India as the *tabla*. In North India, however, *tabla* refers to a pair of drums and there is certainly no connection between these and the nearly cylindrical *tavil*.

If the *nāgasvara* and the *tavil* are accepted as belonging to the *sur* tradition, there are two possibilities for their introduction into South India. Of course, they may have been carried into South India by wandering groups of dancers and musicians from North India, not unlike the *natvas* of Bihar. In this case, the drum *tavil* may have been derived from *duhul* rather than from *tabl* in the following manner: *duhul-dhavul-tavil*, the last change not being so improbable in view of the fact that the same Tamil letter represents the four dental consonants, t, th, d and dh.

The second possibility is that these instruments were introduced directly into South India, perhaps by the Arabs during pre-Mogul Madurai Sultanate of the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁷ Sachs mentions a 'long' drum depicted on Mesopotamian miniatures dating from about 1200 A.D., struck on one side by a curved stick and on the other by the hand, a description not far removed from that of the *tavil*.¹⁸ However, such an instrument does not appear to be in use in the Near and Middle East today.

While *nāgasvara*, etymologically speaking, appears to be related to the *sur*, rather than the *shahnai*, it would tend to strengthen the case for a direct Middle Eastern connection. However, the term *sur* is known in North India and the drone oboe is generally called *sur*. In view of the fact that the *sur* is usually much longer than the *shahnai*, almost the size of the *nāgasvara*, it seems possible that the *nāgasvara* may

17. Shaikh Haqim Abu Ali Shahnai, an Arab is said to have introduced the *shahnai* into South India (Bhatt 1951:1). Elsewhere, Shaikh Hakeem Abu Ali Senai is said to have invented the instrument (Fysee-Rahamin 1925:59).

18. Sachs (1940:249) also suggests a relationship between this Mesopotamian drum and the drums of early India.

have evolved from the *sur*, while the smaller *shahnāi*¹⁹ could have been retained in the South as the *mukha vīṇā*.

In either case, it seems certain that drums with a structure similar to that of the *tavil* existed in India before the Muslim conquest of India. A sculptural relief of the twelfth century (from Belur) and another of the thirteenth century (from Halebid), both in Mysore, depicts drums similar to the *tavil*.²⁰ This would suggest that the imported *tavils* were eventually replaced by drums of traditional structure in South India ; however, the imported name remained.

Similar drums may be seen in the sculptures of Konarak in Orissa and Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh. A curious feature of these drums is that they are depicted as being struck only on one face with a curved stick, while the other hand rests on the body of the drum beneath the lacing connecting both heads. In fact, it is this technique that is used to this day in the playing of the *huruk* in Uttar Pradesh and the *uḍukkaṭi* of South India. These drums appear to be structurally similar to those in the sculptures, except that they are hour-glass shaped. They are slung over the shoulder by means of a shoulder strap which is attached to the lacing joining the two heads to the body of the drum. By pushing the body of the drum downward the tension of the shoulder strap is increased, thus in turn increasing the tension on the lacing which raises the pitch of the drum heads.

THE MOHORI

The oboe in Orissa, called either *mohori* (*mahuri*) or *sonai*, is used primarily out-of-doors, to provide music for weddings, processions and festivals. The name *mohori* does not suggest

19. In spite of the usual etymology associating the first syllable of *shahnāi* with *shāh*, meaning 'large'. there is no evidence that the Indian *shahnāi* was, in fact, any larger than the Persian *surmay*. There is, on the other hand, no doubt that the *sur* is usually much larger than the *shahnāi*, at least in Western India, where one also finds a very small oboe, *sundari*, about a foot in length.

20. In the collection of the Victoria and Albert museum in London; ref. no. IM. 302-1920.

any connection with the *surnay* family, but may, curiously enough, suggest a connection with *makuṭi*, the name of the South Indian snake-charmer's instrument. Earlier we had noted a similar connection of the South Indian oboe, *nagasvara*, with *nagesvara*, the snake charmer's instrument in Orissa. This curious reversal of names suggests a possibility that both instruments may have been introduced into Orissa during a northward cultural migration in which the previous connection of *nagasvar* with snakes brought about the reversal.²¹

In the coastal plains of Orissa, the *mohori* appears to belong to two different traditions. This was exemplified by the Pāṇa musicians of Ganeswarpur, Puri district. The two traditions, *Orissi baja*, music of Orissa, and *Telingi baja*, music of the Dravidian Telugu country, were preserved apart from one another in this community of low-caste professional musicians. In *Telingi baja*, the *mohori* generally resembled the *nagasvara*; however, it had a brass bell ornamented with snakes, and a brass staple. It was accompanied by a *ghasa*, a drum similar in structure to the *tavil*. The name *ghasa*, derived from the Sanskrit root *ghaṭṭ*, means 'rubbed' and the instrument is rubbed on one side with a curved stick, beaten on the other with a cane.²² A second accompanying instrument was a *Telingi dhol*, a conventional *dholak*. The name, *Talingi baja*, and the shape of the instruments, particularly of the *tavil*-type drum, suggests clearly that this is an extension of the South Indian *nagasvara* tradition.

The *Orissi baja* was played on two *mohoris*, much smaller and less sophisticated than the *Telingi mohori*, made entirely of wood but having a separate bell. Although these *mohoris* were conical in outward appearance, their bore was very nearly

21. Since this paper was first written in 1962, A. A. Dick, in an unpublished paper, has uncovered important evidence to show that the *mohori* (*mahuri*) is very probably an Indian oboe of pre-Muslim origin. It also appears that *makuṭi* is a loan word in South India and that the direction of cultural migration with regard to this instrument at least, may well be the reverse, from North to South.

22. This 'rubbing' technique is also apparently found in South India; the drum *perumālmaḍu*, is said to be struck on one side and 'stroked' on the other (Sambamoorthy 1958-242).

cylindrical. They were accompanied by two *caṅgus*, frame drums, and two *nagarās*, kettle-shaped clay drums, the smaller called *jilla* and the larger *bama*. The terms *zir* and *bam* with which these can be equated and which are also used in Western India in this context, are Persian words and occur in early Arabic musical theory as designations for the highest and lowest strings of the lute; thus clearly connecting the *Orissī bājā* with the Muslim expansion from the northwest.

The Pāṇa musicians related a legend about the origin of the *mohorī*, as follows: During a period of drought when the Mahanadi river was low, the last independent ruler of Orissa, Mukunda Deva, was ordered by his mother to divert the Ganges river into the Mahanadi. Mukunda Deva went to Triveni, the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Ganges, Jumna, and the fabled subterranean Sarasvati river. There he began his meditation for twenty-one days, with the oath that whosoever should interrupt him during that period, would be cut into three parts. At that same moment—in 1568—the Muslims invaded Orissa from Bengal, and the Prime Minister sought the King, blowing a loud blast on a *kahālī* ('long trumpet') to announce his arrival. Mukunda Deva, his meditation interrupted, kept his oath and cut the *kahālī* into three parts. According to the Pāṇa musicians, these three parts, when assembled, constitute the *mohorī*.

The two interesting features of this story are that the origin of the *mohorī* coincides with the Muslim invasion of Orissa, and that the *mohorī* is constructed in three sections, whereas the *shahnāī* is often made from one piece of wood.

In the hilly interior of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, the *mohorī*, or *sonāī* as it is sometimes called, is used by castes, such as the Ḍom and the Paidi, scheduled to provide music for the other castes as well as the tribal people in the area. The oboes here are generally made of bamboo and have brass bells. These bells, which are apparently made by metal workers in small towns, are occasionally sold in the hill country at the small weekly market places which spring up suddenly at roadsides on specific days. Apart from the bell, the *mohor*

is made by the musician himself, from bamboo, the most convenient material in the area. As a consequence the bore is virtually cylindrical. Occasionally the oboes are made of two pieces of bamboo, a thinner piece fitted into a thicker, creating a stepped cylindrical tube. This may be an attempt to create the effect of a conical bore. The instruments may or may not have pirouettes. In one specimen, the pirouette was perforated with about twenty holes. I was informed by a musician that only old men who have lost their teeth need pirouettes "so that they do not inadvertently swallow the instrument!"

The relationship of this hill *mohori* to the other oboe-types in India is not clear. The fact that it is sometimes called *sonai* suggests that this is an extension of the North Indian *shahnāi* tradition. The accompanying instruments kettle drums (generally made of clay and called *ṭamuk* or *tuḍumā*), cylindrical drums (called *ḍhol* or *ḍolu*) and frame drums (called *ḍappu*—compare *ḍaf*—or *karin*), which are quite common in North India, would tend to support this view.

CONCLUSION

The evidence available so far suggests that the *surnāy naqāra* and *duhul* were introduced into India from the northwest by the Muslims. These instruments gradually spread southward as well as eastward, particularly along the Indo-Gangetic plain, probably carried by groups of wandering musicians and dancers. Orchestras using these instruments also featured prominently at the Royal palaces of both Muslim and Hindu rulers.

In its southward extension, the oboe most likely underwent many modification of shape and size, finally emerging in the Tamil country as two separate instruments, the long *nāgasvara*, perhaps being derived from the drone *sur* and the shorter *mukha vīṇa* which compares with the *shahnāi*. Although the kettle-drum, *nagārā*, was known in South India, it is not now generally associated with the *nāgasvara*. The Persian *duhul*, occurring as the *ḍol* or *ḍolu* and the *tavil* with its indigenous

method of construction, generally accompanies the *nāgasvara*. The kettle-drums, *nagārā*, which are often depicted in paintings and on bas reliefs as being carried on horse and elephant back, are not easily portable. They are usually played while seated and often not seen in processions. It thus seems likely that wandering musicians would have carried with them the cylindrical or barrel-shaped *dūhul* rather than the kettle drums.

Having infiltrated through the whole of the South Indian Peninsula and into Ceylon, this *nāgasvara* tradition spread northward along the eastern side of the country into Andhra Pradesh and Orissa where it met the North Indian *shahnai* tradition extending southward from Bengal. Thus we find that in Orissa the two traditions have met again after a considerable period of independent evolution.

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A NOTE ON THE FIVE-WOMEN-POT MASK

(*Pancha - Nāri - Ghaṭa*)

ASSOCIATED WITH KŌLAM DANCING IN CEYLON

Original folk dances are still performed in Ceylon though the traditional hand carved masks of the dancers have met with some development, now being made of modern composition materials often decorated with lacquer with consequent loss of symbolical meaning. The primitive discarded masks have become something of a treasure in the hands of collectors and the researcher has difficulty in finding and identifying them. Many are preserved for prestigious reasons by village dignitaries and are seldom shown to an enquirer.

When I asked at the home of a retired village headman where I believed a fine collection of masks to exist, I was told by him that I had been misled. Walking disappointedly away, I was approached by the grandson who told me to return at night. I later found, in this unconventional manner, besides the fine collection I expected, the mask of the Five Women Pot ; a most interesting find as it was not presumed to exist. The discovery of this leads me to extend the limits of the research of Pertold on the dance sequence of the Kolam Natima when this mask would have been used.

Pertold in his article entitled " The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese—An Inquiry into the Sinhalese Folk Religion " makes the following observations on the dance sequence of the Kolam Natima, known as the *Panchanāri Ghaṭa*, or; *The Five Women Pot* :

"A strange scene is that of the five beautiful women, according to Collaway's translation, the five women being really one and appearing in a flower pot. According to the repeated verses mentioning the beauty of their breasts and nipples, they must

have been represented with the upper parts of their bodies nude. At present they are represented by male-dancers dressed like Sinhalese women with gay skirts and white jackets. These five women are supposed to be of a considerable sexual disposition and to attract men. The passage about the five women is not quite clear, but they seemed to be considered as magic having the power to multiply things which they receive. No masks of the five women are known unless those marked as masks of Devi will be considered to be the masks of those strange beings. But at present dancers representing the five women never, as far as I know, use any masks.

If Pertold had been aware of the existence of the Five-Women-Pot mask he would not have been misled in such a serious way. Further he does not seem to have witnessed at first hand the performance of this particular dance, to judge from the manner in which he refers to it in the above passage—to wit, his phrases: ‘A strange scene,’ ‘According to Callaway’s translation,’ ‘They must have been represented,’ ‘.....are supposed to be of.....’, ‘.....they seem to be considered.....’ ‘.....as far as I know.....’.

Pertold having read the Callaway translation and drawing upon information on the dance, interprets the translation in terms of the dance. Thus he is unable to explain the reference in the verses to: Five Women being one, and their appearance in a flower pot. The explanation is however provided by the Five-Women-Pot mask I lighted upon. This mask is carved out of *ruk-attana* (*alstonia scholaris*) popularly used for masks and is of rare beauty. It is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and 15 inches at its broadest. Five women appear upon the head of one woman. The prime face of the mask which will be worn by the dancer is of normal size and is about 8 inches at its highest. The prime face is yellowish in colour with a mixture of red and black in parts.

The five women in keeping with the account in the Callaway translation, appear with the upper parts of their bodies nude, thus displaying their breasts and nipples described commendably in the verses. (Cf. phrases such as “Their paps like golden dishes or goslings are trembling”, ‘How could the gallant turn away

without surveying the paps which project on their breasts', in the Callaway translation.) The five figures of women on the mask appear intertwined.

The appearance of the mask is therefore in agreement with the description of it in the translation of John Callaway, though it must be observed that the five women form the pot rather than appear in a pot, a point of no little significance, in my opinion.

Although Pertold has apparently confused the description of the dance with the description of the mask, it must be said to his credit that, as he supposes, the Five-Women-Pot mask becomes meaningful in terms of the pregnancy ritual and the origin of Kolam. The structure of the mask is a substitution for the familiar carrying pot upon a head-dress. The pot is womb shaped. It looks as if by sheer force of exaggeration it is hoped that the fertility of the female, for whose benefit the performance exists, will be magically enhanced. Thus the pot formation approximates to the womb which it symbolizes. Pertold prefers to explain these five figures of women as deities of multiplication, but the meaning of multiplication is more magical than direct in suggestion.

The mask symbolizes the might and majesty of motherhood. It performs two vital functions. On the one hand it extols womanhood while on the other hand it displays pride in the primary function of sex, that is, reproduction. The main face of the mask is that of a comely maiden with a broad smile. This pose may be based on the wish for a facile and a happy delivery. (*Folklore*, Volume 81, Autumn 1970.)

TELEVISION: FOLK ART OF MODERN MAN?

Any television programme can be seen as good or bad from the point of view of the consumer. His primary test, a short-term one, is whether it is entertaining or boring. To the detached observer, however, considering the effects of television in the long-term context of its impact on society or culture, a programme will be good if socially beneficial, bad if it tends to debase the cultural level of the society, or to have harmful effects on its political health.

Passing to the wholly premeditated type of programme, good or bad here means artistically successful or unsuccessful. It is by no means certain that the quality of a programme will be apparent to the viewer preoccupied by entertainment value.

Television's appetite for skills of artistic - or pseudo-artistic nature - is literally insatiable. Whereas, before the advent of television, a country's theatre demanded no more than, say, one or two hundred new plays from its dramatists each year, today a country with three television channels may well present six or more dramatic programmes (plays, serials, comedies) each evening and require something like two thousand new dramatic scripts a year.

The same - remaining in the relatively restricted field of drama - applies to the performers. Before the advent of this mass medium an actor who learned a new part could, if the play proved successful, count on appearing in it a hundred times or more in one theatre, and then afterwards touring in it to other parts of the country. On television a single performance practically saturates the entire population of the country. The public cannot accept the same actor in a multitude of parts within a short span of time, so the demand for actors also has vastly increased.

How many playwrights, how many actors of outstanding talent can a country produce? How many does it need to provide enough material for a full television service? The supply of talent cannot be unlimited. So here quantity directly creates a problem of quality.

Cultural consequences for smaller countries :

This point has major cultural consequences in the case of the smaller countries or language areas. A country of 3 or 4 million inhabitants may simply not possess enough actors or playwrights to provide even a fraction of the material demanded by television. So the answer is found in the mass import of foreign material, and this in the long run poses a serious threat to the cultural identity of the country concerned.

In the case of large language areas, like those of the English and Spanish-speaking countries, this cultural effect is at least part of a process of organic change, even though some of its effects may be viewed with distaste by those affected. In the case of smaller national cultures, however, the long-term effects may well be both much more far-reaching and more deplorable. This is particularly the case in countries which are not only small in area but are bordered by powerful neighbours like Switzerland, where German, French and Italian television can be received in considerable areas speaking the language used. Such countries are faced with powerful outside competition for loyalty, and this can generate potentially explosive centrifugal forces.

If the importing of television material is having such an impact on highly developed European countries, in the developing world, where television is often a prestige symbol of newly independent States, these effects may be disastrously magnified—and surely will in the near future. It will require great insight and skill on the part of those in charge of television programming in these countries to avoid, or at least minimize, a really catastrophic development: the loss of their own cultural identities. Perhaps this can be done by judiciously mixing imports from very different areas and by concentrating on manifestations of the local culture which may be unspectacular—the local story-teller or folk-singer—but which are firmly based in the national tradition.

Stimulation of Talent :

It would be wrong, however, to regard the effects of the mass demand for drama, situation comedy and spectacular musical and dance shows—at least in the larger culture areas—as wholly detrimental. A large demand stimulates talent. Rembrandt's artistic production was based on the widespread demand for portraits among the rich burghers of Holland which evoked a numerically strong guild of painters, Shakespeare and Marlowe, Calderón and Lope de Vega, Racine and Molière were the peaks of a broadly based culture which created a considerable demand for dramatists.

The same is true in the field of television of the artistic skills which spring directly from the production process. There can never have been as many highly skilled film directors and camera-men as we find today in countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany or France.

The effects of this on related arts, such as the cinema, are obvious. Many of the best film-makers started their careers in television. The same is true of dramatists, at least in certain countries like the United Kingdom or the Federal Republic of Germany. The large demand for television drama is without doubt one of the reasons for the current flowering of dramatic talent in Britain. Many of the best playwrights—such as John Arden, David Mercer and Harold Pinter—achieved their first successes in television.

In the United States, by contrast, the commercial nature of television has been detrimental to the development of drama: plays are too costly to produce relative to the size of the audience they can command, which in turn determines the advertising revenue. In many European countries the public-service concept behind the organization of the mass media has been able to counteract this tendency to make size of audience all-determining.

Precisely in the field of television drama, the quantitative demand has created certain characteristic forms which have their strong negative aspects side by side with some positive ones.

The dramatic series, in which the same set of characters reappear in self-contained episodes, is perhaps the most characteristic feature of television. It is also one of the most formidable cultural phenomena of our time. These series are undoubtedly among the most popular features of television in the major countries and the characters they create become mythological figures with their own lives and personalities which far transcend the relatively modest confines of their original *raison d'être*. They are the archetypes of twentieth century man's collective consciousness and, perforce, also of his collective unconsciousness.

The series is the logical and inevitable outcome of television's vast hunger for material. It allows the same character, the same leading actor, and essentially the same story to be repeated week after week for months and years. An analysis of such series as *Perry Mason* and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* which have literally conquered the whole world—not to mention the innumerable Western series—shows that each episode repeats the same pattern with minor variations.

Such series are the sagas of the twentieth century. They correspond almost exactly to the stories which in primitive communities, bards and ballad singers used to provide, always about nearly identical exploits of the tribal heroes. The Western series in particular here provide an uncannily apt parallel.

Mass demand for the first time since man emerged from the primitive tribe enables every member of the community to have a say in the creation of its cultural material. In every culture since antiquity, cultural creation has always responded to the requirements of a small elite minority. All this and the annihilation of all physical distance through the electronic mass media (which Marshall McLuhan has rightly called the creation of the electronic village), has literally re-created something like the cultural situation of primitive man. The chief can once again speak directly to his people and can be instantly recognized by every member of the community. The whole community again shares in the exploits of the heroes: real—the soldiers at the war front one sees in the newseel, or the wise television pundits who are the medicine men of our societies; or legendary—the neo-mythological figures of the fiction serials.

The analogy is complete, but does it reveal a situation which is frightening or which is reassuring? Neither, I think. For it has great positive as well as negative aspects: after all from primitive man's myths about heroes sprang such immortal works as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Television is, or can at least become, the great folk art of modern man. The huge quantity of material it produces, the vast number of human beings on which it has to draw do give it the character of genuine folk art—based on the demands of the mass rather than on the tastes of a few elitist figures.

Possibilities of Mass Manipulation :

The negative aspect of the above situation follows from the fact that while there is a true analogy with the primitive man in his tribe and his village, modern man is not a primitive and his world is a village only in the electronic, not in the literal sense. Clearly the possibilities of mass manipulation through television—commercial manipulation in some free-enterprise societies, political manipulation in collectivist countries—are truly frightening.

It seems to me, however, that the very quantity of television carries its own built-in safety valve. Television commercial may be effective sales devices; yet in the long run surely they must immunize their audience. The time will come when the law of diminishing returns sets in.

The very quantity of the material poured out to the electronic village must, over the generations, the decades, the centuries, produce a highly critical and sophisticated tribe, a community hardened and immunized against both the overt and the hidden manipulators. And such resistance to manipulation and criticism is also, I believe, the immediate task of those aware and informed enough to be able to think in the long term.

(Martin Esslin in *Unesco Features*, No. 586).

THE 28TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF
ORIENTALISTS, 1970.

(Canberra, Australia)

The 28th International Congress of Orientalists witnessed some lively discussions on one of the most esoteric and controversial topics discussed at the one-week session held in Canberra, Australia, early this month.

The discussions centred on a new theory advanced by Mr. R. G. Wasson, an American ethno-mycologist (that is, one who

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studies the role of mushrooms in human culture). Mr. Wassen held that the *Soma* of the Rig Veda was the hallucinogenic mushroom, *fly agarica*.

The theory evoked considerable flutter and even led to heated rebuttals from leading vedic-scholars from India. Both Dr. R. N. Dandekar of Poona, and Professor S. Bhattacharji of Jadavpur, University (Calcutta), voiced serious objections to Mr. Wasson's belief.

Much as the scholars disagreed, the discussions were always marked by a spirit of cordiality and respect for scientific inquiry. In fact, Dr. W. Norman Brown, a veteran of Orientalists Congresses since the 1928 meeting at Oxford, believed that such exchanges between colleagues "are the most important part of these conventions."

The Indian-American "domination" of the Canberra convention is understandable. For the two largest groups of scholars from outside Australia participating in the Congress came from India and America, each with over 100 members, American participation reflecting the expansion of Asian studies in the United States.

The official Indian delegation was led by Dr. S. Nurul Hasan, Member of the Rajya Sabha, and Professor of History at Aligarh Muslim University. It numbered only 16. But many other Indian scholars came on their own; some of these represented universities outside of India where they are currently teaching as visiting scholars.

Although the Americans had no official delegation, undoubtedly the leader of the U. S. group was Dr. Brown, distinguished Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania, and President of the 27th Congress. Nearing 79, Dr. Brown has regularly attended the Congress for over 40 years since 1928 when U. S. participants were only a handful.

In all, more than 1,200 professional Orientalists hailing from as far as Argentina and Nigeria, gathered at the Australian National University to discuss a highly diverse range of topics in the broadfield of Orientalia. Dr. A. L. Basham, Head of the

Department of Asian Civilisations of the Australian National University presided over the session.

The delegates presented nearly 500 scholarly papers in six different programmes based on the broad geographic divisions of Asia; West Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, China, Korea, Japan, Central and Northern Asia.

Within the six divisions the papers were grouped in seminars around the fields of linguistics, the humanities and the social sciences. Many, but not all, of these seminars dealt with subjects of current political and economic interest.

While some scholars met to discuss the Green Revolution in Asia, several South American professors explored "the influence of Asian culture on pre-Columbian America", a subject of much speculation and many tantalising hypotheses in the past.

The Indian scholars clearly dominated the section of the Congress on South Asia. Their learned dissertations are too numerous to list, but among the many well-known Indian scholars who presented their research papers were :

Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit at Madras University, who spoke on two manuscripts of the ancient Sanskrit play *Udatta Raghava* of Anangharsa Mayuraja, which he recently discovered; Dr. T. Raychauduri of the Delhi School of Economics, who discussed the historiography of modern Indian Economic History; and the delegation leader Dr. Nurul Hasan, who spoke on the land rights controversy in the 18th century.

Prominent American participants included Dr. Ernest Bender of the University of Pennsylvania, an editor of the *American Journal of Oriental Studies*, who discussed a theatrical version of a Jain didactic tale in old Gujarati; Dr. Joseph Schwartzberg, Professor of Geography at the University of Minnesota, who described six years of his work on the South Asia Historical Atlas, which he feels will be ready in 1973; and Dr. Albert Franklin of Kansas State University, who spoke on modern Tamil literature. Dr. Franklin was till recently American Consul General in Madras.

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The social highlight of the Congress was a reception given honour of the delegates by Sri Paul Hasluck, the Australian Governor General. Here the international composition of Congress was evident as saris mingled with kimonos and the national dress of many other countries.

In this respect, however, the Canberra Congress was not different from its predecessors. It has always been a large, highly international affair. Perhaps the main difference now is that delegates from Asia outnumber those from Europe and the United States. And the programme has also changed in emphasis.

In recent sessions, the broad social sciences have been represented in about half the papers presented; formerly most papers were confined to linguistic philosophy, religion and classical art. Perhaps Dr. Basham, the new President of the Congress, summed up the overwhelmingly dominant feeling of the scholars assembled at Canberra when he asserted that the conference's concerns should not be confined to Ivory Tower subjects.

(American Reporter, 27-1-1971.)

SECTION VIII: NOTES AND NEWS

August 1970; Experts from 28 Member States met at Unesco headquarters in Paris from 17 to 28 August for a meeting on "Education for International Understanding and Peace"—with special reference to moral and civic education. The participants, who attended in a private capacity, agreed that the task of educators was to prepare pupils for life in the global society which is emerging and also for their responsibilities in it. The meeting was one of Unesco's activities for International Education Year in which the promotion of international understanding through education is a priority objective. It recommended that students should be assisted to appreciate the world, first as individuals, then, progressively, as families, to nations which may be different in many ways, but which are fundamentally the same. Improvements in teacher training should include greater emphasis on comparative education and group psychology. A further suggestion was that at all levels—primary, secondary and university—curricula should include special courses in the history of the culture and art of all countries, regardless of their social structures, as well as practical training in civics and ethical conduct. Special attention was called for from universities to act as pace setters for education as a whole and as training grounds for leadership in governmental policy making. A net conclusion of this meeting was that education, above all, must aim at instilling a conception of human relationships which will help the construction of a peaceful world by shaping habits of thought and behaviour (Unesco Features, No. 583, September (II), 1970).

August, 1970: Meeting for the first time outside Asia, the International Conference of Tamil Studies was held in Paris from 15 to 18 July. Previous conferences have been in Kuala Lumpur and Madras and the third was held at the College de France following a French invitation to the International Association of Tamil Research.

Unesco has been called on to help the conference and the Organisation's Acting Director-General, Dr Malcolm S. Adiseshiah, himself an Indian of Tamil mother-tongue, was present at the inaugural session. Addressing the conference successively in French, English and Tamil, Dr. Adiseshiah declared, "The presence here of so many experts from so many countries of Europe and America as well as of Asia is a testimony and a moving one to me—of the current interest in the world for this ancient culture of India."

Indian studies in the 19th century, although they had contributed much had been too much dominated by romantic urge to trace Indo-European origins through Sanskrit. It was precisely this Eurocentric, archaic and nostalgic vision which had been abandoned by current research; India was no longer regarded from the outside, as the mirror of a vanished Europe, but for what she was in her own right. The present tendency of research was towards authentic and interior aspects of India and of this Tamil culture was one of the most lively expressions.

In the present state of knowledge, of communication and international relations, said Dr. Adisesiah, there were no longer any provincial or minority cultures. Each culture was valuable not for its peculiarities, but for its universality and what it could contribute to the common heritage of mankind. In the Tamil culture, philosophy, language and artistic expression were so unified and integrated by ethical values that they became a rule of life; it was this which explained the attraction of the Tamil culture for those who became acquainted with it.

The Tamil language, its relation to Sanskrit, classical and contemporary Tamil literature, Tamil culture in the fine arts, its contribution to Indian culture and its diffusion in Asia and as far as East Africa, were among the themes considered by the 200 specialists at the conference seminar under the chairmanship of Professor Jean Filliozat, member of the Institute de France and director of the Ecole Francaise Extreme Orient.

The specialists also discussed the studies of an international institute in Madras, proposed under Unesco's programme for the promotion of Tamil studies. (Unesco Features, No. 580/581 August (1/II), 1971.)

September 1970: Ministers of culture taking stock of world wide needs agreed that those paying the piper should no longer call the tune but should consider the views of the artist. The need to have artists associated in cultural policy-making was one of several conclusions emerging from a 10-day intergovernmental conference on cultural policies which sat at Venice from August 24 to September 2. Sponsored by Unesco the conference—the first of its kind—was attended by some 400 delegates and high officials from 85 countries, including some 50 ministers and secretaries of state. The final report noted that the freedom of the artist is a fundamental right; and also serves the common good as an antidote to sterile bureaucracy and in fostering creative criticism, initiative and innovation in society. Freedom of the artist, it was pointed out, to be effective should assure material conditions in which he can work. The conference was unanimous regarding the equality and dignity of every culture, believing that there should be no room in the contemporary world for cultural imperialism. There is apprehension, however, concerning the prospects of independent cultural development in smaller countries, in areas which are economically weak, and especially in indigenous societies, all of which may be eroded by the commercialised mass culture of the rich and powerful countries. If this continues unhampered, the result will be a general cultural impoverishment and monotony, the report noted. The conference testified to the growing public awareness of the need to protect cultural values and invigorate cultural activities. To cope with pressing needs, governments, the final report noted, should assume responsibility for longrange planning as they do for education and science. The conference also unanimously endorsed the view expressed by Unesco's Director-General, Rene Maheu, in his inaugural speech that if everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, as is called for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the responsible authorities must provide the means to do so. It was on this wide agreement that the conference built its conclusions and recommendations. It was agreed that in the technologically advanced

countries the increase in leisure time and the rise in the educational level of the population create vast new possibilities for cultural activities, but that the price that these countries are paying for their technology and economic advance is a growing threat to their social and natural environment, as is the rise of a commercialized mass culture fostered by new means of communications. Cultural policies in these advanced countries should use the new possibilities in a creative way to counteract the ill effects of technological change and excessive commercialism. As for the developing countries, cultural development is being increasingly recognized as an essential component of social and economic development. Cultural policy can help establish and strengthen national identity. It should encourage the participation of greater numbers of people in cultural activities based on national forms of expression. In concluding, the Director-General cited the significance of the fact that the Conference accepted that cultural development was the concern of public authorities and was no longer a private domain. Culture, he said, was not solely for consumption but could enrich a country through cultural tourism. He noted that "we are all under-privileged when it comes to culture." Finally, he called on the youth to participate in cultural programmes for "without youth there is no future." (Unesco Features, No. 583, September (II), 1970).

September, 1970: Governments everywhere are becoming conscious—although in varying degrees—of their obligation to give all their citizens an opportunity to participate in the arts and their country's cultural development. A reflection of this increasing interest of governments in the subject is provided by the first Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies, organised by Unesco in Venice recently. The opening session was held at the Doges' Palace on August 24, and working sessions continued at the Cini Foundation until September 2. Discussions ranged over the role of public authorities in defining and achieving the objectives of cultural development, and in the protection and development of national cultures; the use of audio-visual techniques of communication and creation; and the cultural content of education. Delegates, who came from over 70 Unesco Member States and included some 35 Ministers, also compared notes on the different formulas adopted in various countries for the promotion and organization of cultural development. As part of its programme for encouraging the international exchange of information on this topic, Unesco is publishing a series of booklets on cultural policy. Those issued so far include studies of cultural policy in the United States, Japan, France and Tunisia. The latest title to appear is *Cultural Policy in Great Britain* by Michael Green and Michael Wilding, in consultation with Richard Hoggart. Unesco Features, No. 582, September (I), 1970).

September, 1970: Following a proposal by the Swiss National Commission for Unesco, a study on the status and position of women in Swiss society is to be carried out by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Zurich. The survey is supported by a grant of 200,000 francs from the Federal Council.

The study will entail an analysis of all statistical material available on the subject, a survey of 4,200 people, and a programme of personal interviews already under way. The results of the study, which will cover

all aspects (political, economic, social, cultural) of the subject, are expected in 1972. (Unesco Features, No. 582, September, (1), 1970.)

September, 1970: Soviet archaeologists have recently discovered a new prehistoric site in the Kola Peninsula; it dates back to about 5000 BC. Evidence of Prehistoric man has been found in several other places north of the Arctic Circle. Another recent discovery was a Neolithic site on an island of the New Siberia archipelago in the Arctic Ocean. Excavators found objects made of bone, as well as arrow heads, needles and axes made from mammoth tusks. On Spitsbergen, remains of rock paintings showing the outline of a whale and stags are further proof of man's early colonization of the Far North. And fossil plants of the Tertiary Era found in the mountains of the Archipelago show that the Arctic climate was not always as harsh as it is today; millions of years ago, oaks, lime trees and sequoias flourished on the islands. (Unesco Features, No. 582, September (1), 1970).

October 1970: Under the caption "University Reforms Stress The "New Humanism," Robert Faherty writes in Unesco Features, No. 584: "Winds of change have been blowing for five years on American College and university campuses, and the result has been a gathering movement to make higher education a dialogue among students, professors and the society in which they live. As ivory towers have crumbled under the impact of student and faculty unrest, there has been a turn from merely "practical" education towards a more humanistic outlook reminiscent of the great medieval European universities. This reverses a trend which had been particularly apparent since the beginning of this century, an age of discovery in which the natural sciences assumed ever-increasing prestige. As a result, the liberal arts suffered from inattention in the curricula of established schools and of the numerous new colleges being created for a growing population. That the decline of the teaching of the liberal arts is the principal cause of unrest among students is an opinion held by John Fischer, editor and author, reinforcing a complaint heard in professorial circles. The kind of changes that are now occurring can best be illustrated by what recently happened at Brown University, Rhode Island. Students at Brown made a comprehensive study of American higher education and the contemporary university; it took 2 years to complete. The result is a 400 page report calling for sweeping changes in Brown's undergraduate curriculum. One major conclusion is that liberal arts education faces a crisis so severe that it requires more than the palliatives of experimental courses or pass-fail grading systems to save it. They call for a new educational philosophy that would place the personal development of the student at the centre of the educational process. Their recommendations are now being carried out. They include the right for students to plan their own curricula, to study in small, informal groups, as well as a new grading system and a reform of liberal arts education-

October, 1970: Today, 30 million adults—one out of every four in the nation—are taking at least one spare-time course a year, according to a survey published by *American Education*—monthly journal of the Office of Education. They come from every trade and every walk of life—workers studying to improve job qualifications; housewives taking courses in child care, mental health or planned parenthood; professional men and

women (doctors and lawyers) making specialized inquiries; and enlightened amateurs spurred to further learning by "divine discontent." Never a neglected item in the United States, continuing education has been greatly stimulated in recent years by new financing, provided mainly through the federal government. (Unesco features, No. 584, October (1), 1970).

October 1970: A wealth of previously unavailable material on the traditional culture of Sikkim has been gathered by a Brown University professor who visited the cloistered kingdom to make an ethnographic survey of Sikkimese music and dance. Due to its delicate position as a land-locked buffer state between Communist-controlled Tibet and India Sikkim has remained pretty much of a mystery to the outside world. Fredrick Lieberman, a specialist in Ethnomusicology, went to Sikkim at the invitation of the Sikkimese government and with the support of the sponsors interested in the project.

"Sikkim is completely unstudied in many aspects of its culture and its music and art have never been dealt with by an ethnomusicologist or other scholar," said Prof. Lieberman. He said research of this type in Sikkim has been shut off for more than three decades because of a feeling on the part of the government that material published as a result of prior studies misrepresented traditional Sikkimese culture.

The Survey team produced some 15 hours of recordings and more than 10,000 feet of 16 mm. sound films Traditional folk songs, dances and religious music were all recorded on tape and film. In return for the government's co-operation, Prof. Lieberman agreed to have all recordings checked out for authenticity by a Sikkimese board of advisors before he brought them back to the United States. "This checking process will make it impossible for anyone to take the tapes we made and use them to misrepresent Sikkimese culture," he said. As a result of his visit to Sikkim, Prof. Lieberman has initiated a campaign to provide a full scholarship for a Sikkimese student to study cultural anthropology in America. The Brown professor said he feels it is vitally important that a young Sikkimese student be trained in cultural anthropology because there seems to be a lack of pride in the traditional culture of Sikkim among its young people. (S.E.M. Newsletter, Vol. IV No. 5).

October 1970: The Asia Society, 112 East 64th Street, New York City, 10021, plans to bring to American University and College Campuses throughout the country outstanding Asian performing artists in a resumption of its former Performing Arts Program, Phillips Talbot, the Society's President has announced. The Program, which previously brought to this country such outstanding exponents of Asian music and dance as Ravi Shanker, Balachander, and Ceylon's National Dancers, was suspended five years ago pending the completion of surveys on continuing university needs for such activities. Mr. Talbot's announcement states that "as part of our programs to acquaint Americans with the Asia behind the headlines, our new Performing Arts Program will do much to bring to youthful American audiences a useful perception of the color and excitement and the deep human meaning expressed in Asia's traditional performing arts. A distinguished advisory committee, composed of leading authorities on Asia's Performing Arts, including many young specialists in ethnomusico-

logy, will help the society in the selection of Asia's troupes to be brought to this country and toured under the Society's sponsorship." (S. E. M. Newsletter. Vol. IV, No. 5.)

I—11—1970: Two outstanding artists from the German Democratic Republic—the pianist and musicologist Prof. Dr. Eberhard Rebling and his wife, the folk song and chanson singer Lin Jaldati—were on a concert tour in India. They performed in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Prof. Rebling has become known as soloist in piano recitals and concerts with outstanding symphonic orchestras and famous conductors in 24 European and Asian countries. Eberhard Rebling's wide repertory extends from Bach, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin and Brahms to contemporary composers. Above all, he stands up for a piano music based on the folk music of many countries. Lin Jaldati's repertory comprises old German or Dutch folk songs, songs in Yiddish, American Negro songs, folk songs from several European, African and Asian countries or songs from contemporary composers of the GDR. (Democratic Germany. Vol. V. No. 22, November 1, 1970).

November, 1970; October 1970 marked the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and for the occasion London publishers, J. M. Dent and Son, have issued a new book, *The United Nations at Work Throughout the World* by Peter Larsen. The book of 96 pages has 144 photographs taken by the author and a foreword by Sir David Owen, former Co-administrator of the UN Development Programme. The book describes, mainly through photographs, numerous ventures sponsored by the UN and its agencies throughout the world. There is a brief introductory chapter on the structure and the charter of the United Nations, as well as useful information throughout in texts alongside the many illustrations. The book, prepared specially for young people, is available from the publisher and bookshops at 1.25 pounds sterling. (Unesco Features, No. 587, Novr. 1970).

November 1970; An ambitious scheme to preserve the great Bronze Age site of Mohenjo-Daro, in West Pakistan, which is literally being eaten away by salt, and develop the area as a major tourist centre has been announced at the Unesco General Conference by the delegation of Pakistan.

This long-term project—it will take an estimated sixteen years to complete—involves the construction and installation of a series of tube wells and pumps to lower the water table and permit desalinization of the land. Pakistani engineers are confident that increased revenue from the land alone will justify the initial outlay. An interdisciplinary approach is planned, with experts provided by Unesco and other international agencies working alongside Pakistani specialists, to prepare a Master Plan for the development of the area; the introduction of modern agricultural techniques will be linked with the development of crafts and small industries, and the preservation and eventual further excavation of Mohenjo-Daro. For as the British archaeologist Sir Mortimer Wheeler wrote after the last Unesco mission; "Properly explored, the wide and deep vestiges of one of the great pioneer-cities of the world can tell us much that is worth knowing about ourselves in historic perspective and, properly conserved and displayed, can become a major and worthy centre of cultural tourism and

education, not for Pakistan alone but for the world at large. (Unesco Features, No. 587, Novr. 1970).

18-12-1970 ; Delegates of the 125 Member States of Unesco have completed the work of the Organization's Sixteenth General Conference, set a programme for two years, and voted a budget of nearly \$ 90 million.

In 1971-72, Unesco's activities in education will aim at two main goals ; education for everybody and education for life. An international commission of experts will examine strategies for developing systems of education including the question of international aid. The International Conference on Education, to be held in Geneva next year, will have as its theme " The social background of students and their chances of success at school. " Two regional conferences of ministers of education will be organized, one for Asia in 1971, the other in Latin America in 1972. Also in 1972, a world conference on adult education will be held. The experimental world literacy programme will be extended and there will be projects to encourage young people to participate in economic and social development. In the science field an intergovernmental and multi-disciplinary programme will be launched on Man and the Biosphere, and Unesco will work on two global projects, a World Science Information System and the Integrated Global Ocean Station System. At the same time, Unesco will promote the complete re-evaluation of higher science teaching. It will make a series of studies to determine the " typology " of science and technology in the developing countries and will encourage international co-operation in basic research, theoretical physics, computer sciences and biology. The Unesco social sciences programme will centre on their contribution to development and the promotion of human rights and peace. Population and environment problems will be studied. The results of an enquiry into the trends of human science research will be published. A new direction will be given to Unesco's cultural work in line with the decisions of the ministerial conference on cultural policies held in Venice this summer. A European inter-governmental conference will be held in 1972. From next year an international scientific committee will prepare the publication of a " General History of Africa. " Unesco will continue efforts to preserve and develop sites and monuments such as Borobudur, Mohenjo-Daro and Philae as well as its contribution to safeguarding Venice. Research and experiments on mass media in contemporary society will put special emphasis on the use of the new techniques of space communication. A copyright information centre will be set up and 1972, proclaimed as International Book Year, will mark the beginning of a long term action to promote production and distribution of printed works. Unesco will play its part in the Second Development Decade in co-operation with other UN agencies. The General Conference appealed to Member States to contribute more to the progress of education, science, culture and communication in developing countries, particularly urging them to reinforce programme of Funds in-Trust with Unesco, and to help coordinate multi-lateral and bilateral aid. (United Nations Weekly Newsletter)

December, 1970 ; The latest booklet in the Unesco series under the general heading of " Unesco and its programme " is now available from the Organization's Paris Headquarters and from distribution centres in Member States. Functional Literacy — Why and How is a 40 pages

account of the Experimental World Literacy Programme and the parallel development to date of the concept of functional literacy. The book explains the meaning of functional literacy; progress of the 12 pilot projects in as many countries, and results and problems and these projects. The total cost of these projects amounts to some \$ 50 million, \$ 10 million of which is provided by the United Nations Development Programme. The ratio between national and international contributions remains at approximately 4:1. (Unesco Features, December (I/II), 1970).

December, 1970 : D. V. Gundappa, Editor, *Public Affairs*, Vol. XIV, No. 12 December 1970 writes with reference to the Ancient concept of Monarchy and contemporary Democracy :

"Adherents of Monarchy are not a wholly extinct race. Not only in Asia and Africa but in more advanced Europe also, there is still an earnest faith — particularly among the young — lingering in the value of the institution of Kingship as may be seen from the following in the London Times of 5-9-1970 :

'A dozen French royalists today (4-9-1970) demonstrated their attachment to monarchy. While President Pompidou and members of the Government were attending a ceremony for the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Third Republic and Parliamentary Democracy, the royalists, mostly young men, shouted : 'We want the King in Paris'. They were soon taken away by policemen'. Having gone through other forms of Government and the social chaos which they bring in, mankind may still turn back to the ancient, most universal form of Government, in spite of all its known deficiencies and failings. After all, democracy, as we find it, may not be so very superior as viewed from the standpoint of the non-political common man. The superiority we see in democracy may be a book-notion. Democracy can be as undivine as royalty, and royalty may be not less divine than *vox populi vox dei*. Are our popular ministers more pure and more exalted in their personal morals and standards of behaviour than the old Rajas and Sultans? What is it that the Rajas and Sultans did which a minister has not done or may not do to corrupt society? Which is the kind of self-indulgence or social depredation of which the old Princes were guilty and from which our modern ministers are free? The old ones did things openly and that was their fault. Are the ministers less expensive to the State? The old Rajas and Sultans at the very least, did not have to meddle with the loyalties of citizens and the honesty of the electorate. They did not have to build up parties of their own and manipulate public men and public institutions. Let no one, therefore go so far as to apotheosize democracy.

December 1970 ; The First All-Union Conference of Indologists was held in Moscow on the eve of 1971. It was a notable event in Soviet oriental studies which reflected the broad and all-round interest displayed by Soviet scholars in the history and present-day life of the great Indian people, with whom the Soviet people have the greatest of friendship. But when we speak of contemporary Soviet indology, we should stress that its roots go back as far as 150 years. The works of I. Minayev, S. Oldenburg and F. Shcherbatsky on Indian languages, classic literature, philosophy and religion met with worldwide recognition even before the

October 1917 Revolution. Prerevolutionary indology was, however, concerned with a narrow range of subjects and there were few indologists. Almost all of them were in Petersburg (now Leningrad). The rest of the experts on India lived in the university cities of Russia (Kazan, Kiev, etc.) and more often than not worked on their own. One Russian Sanskritist wrote at the time: "There is hardly a dozen indologists in Russia. They work alone, just like coal cutters in a mine, barely hearing one another." A new period in indology set in after the October 1917 Revolution. The Soviet Government and Lenin personally rendered tremendous assistance to orientologists. New institutes and chairs in universities were founded, which went in for the training on a broad scale of specialists on the Asian countries, including India. The efforts of the orientologists of various specialities were coordinated by the All-Union Research Association on Orientalology. The Institute of Orientalology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which became a leading research centre in the field of indology, was set up in Leningrad in 1930. Today Soviet scholars study all the main ancient and modern Indian languages and all the literature in these languages, the material culture, way of life and customs of the Indian nations, small tribes included, the ancient, medieval and contemporary art, all the periods in the rich history of the country, philosophy, religion, the present-day struggle of the Indian people for the progress of democracy and achievement of social equality, and the economic problems facing India. The work of Soviet indologists has resulted in a four-volume edition on the history of India, a series of monographs on the main Indian languages and literatures, and some other works. When studying these problems, Soviet scholars use the data which they obtain in India on their special trips there. The number of such trips, particularly the exchanges between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the University Grants Commission of India has recently increased sharply. Some works by Soviet historians, economists, linguists and literary critics were published in English in India or in Moscow and were made available to Indian readers. The Soviet reading public displays an extremely keen interest in books on India. Even when issued in large editions, they very soon become a collector's item. Soviet indology on today is a comprehensive trend in research. The indologists work either at specialized scientific institutions — the orientology institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences and of the academies of sciences of the Uzbek, Tajik, Azerbaijan and Georgian Republics, at the orientology faculties on the Leningrad and Tashkent universities, and the Institute of Oriental Languages attached to Moscow University — or at the institutes of the Academy of Sciences dealing with separate subjects — the institutes on ethnography, history, arts, law, philosophy, economics, etc. The Institute of Orientalology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which is now situated in Moscow and has a branch in Leningrad, coordinates all the research done in orientology, indology included. The First Conference of Soviet indologists, with over 300 scholars taking part, was held in Moscow in December 1970 to improve coordination and promote contacts among the scholars who devoted themselves to the study of India. A number of indologists from the socialist countries, Indian scholars, students of the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, of Moscow University, and post-graduate students of Soviet scientific institutions were attending the conference as guests. Among them we should mention Professor of Politics A. M. Rajasekhariah of the Karnatak University (Dharwar): Professor

C. P. Goyal from Kashi Vidyapith (Varanasi), and P. V. Ranade, teacher from the Maharathwada University (Aurangabad). The conference was subdivided into seven sections: ancient and medieval history and culture ; national-liberation movement and socio-political thought ; socio economic development of independent India ; socio-political progress of India; literary criticism ; linguistics, and art criticism. A total of 170 reports were made. Prominent Soviet indologists spoke at the conference. Professor Yevgeny Chelyshev made a report on "The Trends of Development in Indian Literature". Grigory Kotovsky, Candidate of Science (History), spoke on "The Stages in the Progress of Soviet Indology". The report on "Contemporary Indian Philosophy" was delivered by Alexei Litman, Candidate of Science (History). Other reports were made by Alexei Dyakov and Anatoly Beneduktoy, both Doctors of Science (History), Erik Komarov, Candidate of Science (History), and others. The most heated discussions were triggered off by the problem of ethnogenesis of Southern Asia, based on anthropological material collected by Soviet scholars in India in recent years, the problem of the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in India, and the problem of the socio-economic system in antiquity and the Middle Ages. Of great interest in the section dealing with the period of the national-liberation struggle were the reports based on archive materials, on the popularity of communist and socialist ideas in India. The problems of industrialization, agricultural development, Soviet-Indian economic cooperation and other problems of our time were given the greatest coverage. The section on literature was one of the largest. Reports were made on the work of various writers of the past and of our time. Special sessions were devoted to the medieval literature of the Bhati school and to the work of Rabindranath Tagore. The intensive programme of the conference was a convincing proof of the considerable success achieved by Soviet indology. However, Soviet scholars are still faced with tremendous tasks. A whole number of sections, in particular the study of social thought, social systems, statehood and law, still lag behind the standards achieved in other branches. Scholars will concentrate their efforts on overcoming these shortcomings. A decision was passed to hold conferences of Soviet indologists regularly, once every five years. (Moscow News No. 2.1071)

December, 1970 ; A study on the tradition of non-violence in East and West has been completed by the Research Council for Cultural Studies, New Delhi, with financial assistance from Unesco. It comprises a comparative analysis of the tradition of non-violence and peace in the major religious and cultural traditions of the world as well as an empirical study of values and attitudes regarding non-violence and peace among selected groups and nationalities. The results of investigation are now available, under the title *Sociology of non-violence and peace*, from the Research Council for Cultural Studies, 40, Lodi Estate, New Delhi, India, (Unesco Features, December (I/II), 1970).

3-2-1971 ; Willi Meinck - a famous Children's writer from the GDR is visiting India for several weeks to collect material for his writing and to study Indian literature and history. He has come to this country for the third time. As a result of his earlier visits and the impressions he got he wrote a book on India under the title "Captured Sun". On 3rd February, 1971 the Consulate General of the GDR in India organized a get together with children's writer. It was attended by many prominent Indian writers

and important personalities of the cultural life. Willi Meinck read one chapter from his book "Captured Sun" entitled "One night at Cochin". It was very much appreciated by the audience. Mr. Meinck told the guests that he had studied Indian history for two years before he was able to write this book. In addition, he collected fairy tales and folk tales of India and intends to publish a collection of Indian fairy tales within the next two years. The book will be illustrated by Karl Erich Mueller who himself visited India several times, created many paintings on India and works of whom were exhibited during the First and Second Triennale in New Delhi. (G.D.R. 15-2-71).

February, 1971; M. Edgar Faure, former French Premier and Education Minister, who initiated the University reform in France, has been appointed president of Unesco's International Commission for the Development of Education. The seven-man Commission named by Mr. Rene Maheu, Director General of Unesco, will have the wide-ranging task of surveying the state of Education in the world today and assisting Governments in devising new strategies for educational development to meet rapidly changing needs of individuals and societies. Created at the beginning of the second U.N. Development Decade, the Commission will examine new ways and means of increasing education's contribution to social and economic goals and developing international co-operation. It will meet several times during the year, and individual members will travel to centres where the problems of the developing countries can be examined on a regional basis. (Unesco Features, No. 592/593, Feb. (I/II), 1971).

February, 1971; A world Index of Social Science Institution has been published by Unesco and is available from the Organization and its distribution centres. This card index in English and French contains data on all social science, advanced training and documentation institutions, as well as professional bodies for which information was available to Unesco in mid-1970. Information is provided on each institution, its field of competence, date of establishment, organizational structure, publications, size of staff, activity, research facilities, finance and relations with Governmental and non-governmental organizations. (Unesco Features, No. 592/593, Feb. (I/II) 1971).

February, 1971: The Third Regional Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for economic planning in Asia will be held in Singapore from 31 May to 7 June 1971 under Unesco auspices. The Conference will review educational development in Asia during the decade 1960-1970, plans to improve education during the next decade (1971-1980), and the qualitative and quantitative reform of education, as well as science and technical education, in the region. (Unesco Features, No. 592/593, Feb. (I/II). 1971).

6-3-1971: Last spring three artists from Moscow—Vera Aralova, Mariam Aslamazyan and Marina Mironova—made a tour of India. In the course of a month they visited Delhi, Benares, Agra, Bombay, Udaipur, Simla and Jaipur, they met many people saw how they lived, acquainted themselves with the local art, and were never parted from their brushes and pencils. Now a big exhibition of their drawings and painting—"In India"

—is on display at the Moscow House of Friendship. This report on their tour, rendered in terms of their artistic productions, evokes respect and admiration. The artists have presented a panorama of India's rich life with keen observation. Mironova's watercolours introduce urban and rural life scenes, personages representing different parts of India, with characteristic details picked out faultlessly by the artist. Aslamazyan's large size still lifes and oil paintings are of an ornamental character, and convey the unique beauty of Indian women. Aralova's tempera canvases with their clear-cut lines and restrained colour create crystallized epic images of the toiling women of India. The artists say that this exhibition does not by any means exhaust the material they have collected in India, and they regard these contributions as the first instalment to this vast theme which is close to their hearts. (Moscow News).

March 1971: Cultural exchanges among Asian countries will be promoted by a Unesco Asian Cultural Centre to open next month in Tokyo. The centre will also seek ways to aid the preservation of cultural monuments in Asia. (Unesco Features. No. 594, March (1), 1971.

15-3-1971 :

Nearly thirty youth leaders from eleven Asian countries, prominent among them representatives of national youth organisations and Governmental set-ups, took part in an Asian Seminar on National Youth Policy at the Vishwa Yuvak Kendra (International Youth Centre), New Delhi. The two-week seminar, sponsored by the Indian Assembly of Youth, the International Youth Centre, and the Federal Youth Council of Germany, had delegates from youth organisations in Ceylon, Fiji, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand besides those from India and the Federal Republic of Germany. The objective before the seminar was to elaborate the aims and contents of a desirable national youth policy, provision of legislation for the protection of youth, minimum needs and requirements of services for the development of young people so as to assure them a fruitful life. It also set before itself the aim of continuing participation of the younger generation in the formulation of such policies and programmes and in setting priorities and targets for their development within the process of national development and establishing a mechanism for linking youth organisations with the national decision-making and planning bodies thereby ensuring cross-sectoral co-ordination and allocation of national resources in keeping with the requirements of youth. In the course of its 14 day discussions, the seminar discussed guide-lines for a national youth policy after taking into account the points of view of the governmental and national organisations. The youth problem was also discussed in terms of education and development socio-economic progress, the employment situation and the specific problems of the developing nations. Areas of vital concern were also spelled out in which youth could make a valuable contribution by participation in the formulation of national policies and programmes. (German News).

March 1971: A new type of personality must be conceived of for the men of the future. This is what Mr. Edgar Faure a former French Premier and education minister, has told the newly created International Commission for the Development of Education. Mr. Faure, speaking to the seven

member commission of which he is president, was stressing the importance of considering problems of education in the wide context of rapid, social, economic and technological changes throughout the world. "The fact that men must learn how to learn, how to work in a team and that he is in competition with machines that undertake activities hitherto considered as specifically human, necessarily leads to conceiving of a new type of personality for the men of the future," he said when the Unesco sponsored commission held its first meeting in Paris (March 15-19). Speaking to newsmen at the end of their Paris meeting, the members of the commission stressed that they saw the problems of education as part of overall social and economic problems. As Mr. Lane Herreros of Chile a former president of the Inter-American Development Bank, put it: education is not isolated from other social development problems. To prepare individuals better qualified to speed the development of their countries, the poor nations need to change their educational systems, said Mr. Henri Lopes, Minister of Education in the People's Republic of Congo. The Commission was seeking a "new approach" which would co-ordinate all efforts affecting the development of the human personality, was the way Mr. Majid Rahnema, former Iranian Minister of Higher Education and Sciences, expressed it. After carrying out investigations throughout the world and meeting again several times at Unesco headquarters, the commission will draw up its report. This will include recommendations which national governments will be able to take into account when planning educational policies. (Unesco Features No. 595, March (II), 1971).

April 1971: The discovery was made during excavations being carried out at Hathala situated at a distance of 26 miles from Dera Ismail Khan by an archaeological team led by the Head of the Peshawar University's Archaeology Department. The Indus Valley Civilisation with Mohenjo-Daro as its main site, is believed to be a contemporary of the ancient Mesopotamian Civilisation. Painted pottery, terracotta bulls, bangles of different varieties and several other minor antiquities have been discovered at the new site. The people of this valley are believed to have burnt their dead on a funeral pyre and buried the remains in two fashions. In the first example the ashes and bone fragments were collected in a burial jar, with black lines painted around its neck, and buried four feet below ground-level. Ashes and charcoal was heaped on the surface, probably to mark the spot. In the second type, a deep pit, somewhat horse-shoe shaped, was dug and ashes and bone fragments deposited, Tiny saucers and round pots were also kept there. (Pakistan News, April 1, 1971).

12-4-1971: People with cravings for sweet things owe a debt of thanks to early India for developing the art of producing sugar from sugarcane, according to U.S. Agriculture Department researchers. They note in a new Agriculture Department publication—"A History of sugar marketing"—that while sugarcane originated in the South Pacific islands it was not successfully manufactured into sugar until the Indians developed the method for production. The date is fixed by one authority as not later—perhaps earlier—than 400 B.C. By that date experts say, a knowledge of sugar had become general throughout India. Sugar production then gradually spread westward to Persia, Asia Minor, Egypt and across North Africa to the Atlantic as well as to southern Europe especially Spain,

Sicily and Madeira. The experts say this westward migration of sugar production was extremely slow with probable time lapse of nearly 2,000 years between the beginning of sugar manufacture in India and the appearance of the industry in islands off the coast of Africa shortly before the discovery of America. Sugarcane growing and production did not reach the Mediterranean region until the seventh or eighth centuries when it was introduced there by Moslems after their conquest of North Africa and Spain, the experts report. The Arabs became acquainted with sugar as a result of their conquest of Persia. The spread of sugar to Europe was greatly increased through the Christian Crusaders. While this whetted European appetites for the product, sugarcane production was found not feasible except in the warmer climes of southern Europe. Thus honey, a natural source of sugar, was a popular sweetener for Europeans until sugar was produced in sufficient quantities. (Background Information USIS).

SECTION IX : REVIEWS

Mayamata, Traite Sanskrit D'Architecture, Premiere Partie, Edition Critique, Traduction et Notes par Bruno Dagens. Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery, 1970 (Publications de L'Institut Francais D'Indologie No. 40-1) pages 732, Figures 32 at the end.

This first part of the critical edition of Mayamata by Dagens contains the first 25 chapters of this well known treatise on Architecture, together with an Introduction of 28 pages, and an index-glossary (pp. 698-726). The Introduction, and Translation are in French. The text is printed on the right hand pages, and the translation on the left hand pages. The Introduction discusses the questions relating to the date of the work which is assigned to the Coḷa period and to South India on the internal evidence of the work itself. The system of measurements, the materials employed in building, the elements architectural, the types of edifices, town and villages, vehicles and conveyances, iconography, rituals performed at different stages of building and the manuscripts and editions employed in constructing the critical text are the main topics of the introduction. We hope the second part of this edition will soon make its appearance. The present edition is a great advance on existing ones, and it will be worth while for Indian scholars to learn French; if only to be able to use the publications of the French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

Uttaramērūr, *Legende, Histoire, Monuments* par Francois Gros et R. Nagaswamy, avec Le *Pañcavaradakṣetra mahatmya* edite par K. Srinivasacharya, Institut Francais D'Indologie, Pondichery, 1970 (Publications De L'Institut Francais D'Indologie No. 39), pages 131, 66. diagramme, 16 plates, carte (Hors-texte).

This excellent monograph on the celebrated village of Uttaramerur is based on a full study of earlier works on the subject together with the fresh material drawn from the sthala-māhātmya of Pañcavaradakṣetra (Uttaramērūr) whose text (66 pages) is printed towards the end of the book. There are seven chapters besides a short foreward of three pages. They

discuss in order (1) the name of the village in several forms (2) the sources including the mahatmya, other legends and epigraphic sources. (3) the landmarks of history — under heads prehistory, foundation of the second Pallava line, the heyday under the Coḷas, the period of Kulottunga and the size of Tiruppuli Vanam, the age of Vijayanagar, from the Nayaks to the English and the battle of Uttaramērūr, (4) The monuments of which twelve are discussed in order, (5) the ancient village (6) social life and administration, and (7) intellectual and religious life.

The work is of very great merit and authority and acknowledges its debt to earlier writers with meticulous care. It is a marked advance on extant works and deserves the notice of all future students of the subject of rural administration of South India in ancient times.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

Goil, N. K. (Ed.). *Asian Social Science Bibliography: (with Annotation and Abstracts, 1966, Institute of Economic Growth, Documentation Series (Delhi), 1970. Pp. XXII, 490 Price Rs. 75).*

The long-felt need to bring out an extensive Bibliography covering the 6 branches of Social Sciences concerning the major countries of Asia has been almost met by this publication, the 15th in the series. This goes to the credit of the Unesco research centre on social and economic development in Southern Asia which has merged with the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi in 1966. The basic material is drawn from all types of English publications, including scholarly Journals issued by the Government and other organisations. The arrangement and classification followed in this publication, have been so devised as to facilitate easy reference. Other similar publications are to follow; and therein it is proposed to list materials from countries which have been left out of the scope of this current issue.

The Book covers 1972 entries, a majority of which is provided with the needed annotations and abstracts. The countries included in the scope of this volume are Afganistan

Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and South Vietnam. A List of Journals documented and a classification scheme are printed next to the foreward and introduction. The six branches of study are very well represented.

The author index, the subject index and the geographical index in the end are sure to be very helpful for easy reference. The paper used, the flawless printing and the hard-board cover add to the value of the publication. This excellent publication is due, in no small measure to the labours of N. K. Goil, the Librarian of the Institute who has ably collected the extensive materials from local and foreign sources to make it exhaustive and through.

S. THIRUMALACHARI.

Shastri, Ramanlal Krishnaram (Bhagavat Bhūshan) : *Srīmad Bhāgavata-Slokanukramanīkā* ; (first edition, 1963. Pp. 10 + 192. Publisher : Banilal Jaganlal Saye—Navaprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Price Rs. 7).

A long-felt need for a comprehensive index of the verses of *Srīmad Bhāgavatam* has now been met by the pioneering efforts of the author Sri Ramanlal Shastri, to whose sole credit, it must be said, this arduous task, born of an internal urge, has fallen. As one born in a family of reputed sanskrit scholars he is eminently fitted to carry out the voluminous task, which he has shouldered with pleasure, as a labour of love and as a sacred duty towards the Hindu world. Indexing is as old as the Vedic period in India when the *Sarvanukramanī* was prepared to preserve and adhere to the exact text of the Vedic lore. Even at that remote period of history, motivated interpolations were not new because chanting of the hymns was preserved by word of mouth, thus lending itself to spurious additions born of sectarian propensities. Hence we hear of a number of recensions of each original Sanskrit text, thus rendering the task of the compiler and commentator rather complicated. Sri Shastri has experienced a similar dilemma in this work since, the Kalyan Press Edition of the *Purāṇa* contained 1042 additional verses,

a fact which he became aware of rather very late. He has been clever enough to tide over the difficulty by adding the index to these 1042 verses alphabetically immediately after the index of words in the first work. The author seems to have an easy walk over as he had the advantage of a copy in Bengali to guide him. The verses indexed fall short of the verses said to have been composed by Vyasa, numbering 18000. In the foreward Sri Shastri has ably given out the reasons for this variation, which seem to be convincing.

The indexing is preceded by a *Bhava-Kusumanjali*, a *Samarpana*, a *Pitrpada-vandana* and a *Bhūmika*. The printing is well done and no correction slip, a common feature in most of the sanskrit publications, is attached. A hard board cover for the book, if provided, will be quite fitting. The author deserves high credit for having performed the work so ably and scholars in the field must feel indebted to him for his having successfully carried out his life's ambition with a missionary zeal.

S. THIRUMALACHARI.

**BULLETIN OF
THE INSTITUTE OF
TRADITIONAL CULTURES
MADRAS**

**1971
JULY TO DECEMBER**



UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

MADRAS-3, INDIA

Institute of Traditional Cultures

Madras

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PREFACE

This issue of the Bulletin conforms to the same plan as the earlier ones. The sources from which the different sections are compiled are indicated in the relevant contexts. The Institute is indebted to all those who have helped in the compilation of the Bulletin.

The Institute is grateful to the Government of India and to the Government of Tamil Nadu for their grants for the year 1971 which has enabled the Institute to continue to function on the same lines as it did in the previous years. To the University of Madras and its esteemed Vice-Chancellor, Thiru N. D. Sundaravadivelu, who is the President of the Institute, it is indebted in no small measure. The University accommodates the Institute in its buildings, and provides it with other amenities; its large academic staff in its various Research Departments in the Humanities offer their hearty co-operation in the work of the Institute. It also bears as usual, the cost of paper and printing the two issues of the Bulletin for the year. The Executive Committee has given much ready help in the management of the Institute both on its administrative and academic sides.

31st Jan. 1972.

DR. K. K. PILLAY

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SECTION I: ARTICLES

CYRUS THE GREAT YEAR (1971)

(The 25th centenary of the founding of the Iranian State fell in the year 1962. The Shahanshah of Iran decided to celebrate the event in the nation's history by paying homage to the memory of the founder of Iranian national unity, Cyrus the Great. Unesco also decided on a universal tribute to Iranian culture, regarded as inseparable from the culture and civilization of all mankind. But it was postponed because of more pressing matters taking place in Iran at the time. The launching of the "White Revolution" in Iran required that all the nation's potential be employed in the realization of the Revolution's programmes. Thus it was decided that the celebration be put off until 1971. On an invitation from the Iranian National Commission for Unesco, the Indian National Commission for Co-operation with Unesco has initiated suitable programmes of activities in October 1971 for the celebration of the 25th centenary of the founding of the Iranian State. The President of India and Shrimati Giri paid a State visit to Iran on this occasion to participate in the celebrations in that country. The following is an account of "Why does the World Commemorate Iran's 25th Centenary" anniversary based upon a Press release of the Imperial Embassy of Iran in New Delhi, India—Ed.)

Twenty years ago, in 1951, Professor Rene Grousset, a member of the French Academy (Academie Francaise) and one of the undisputed masters of historical studies of Iranian era, wrote shortly before his death a preface to a collective work, published in Paris and entitled "The Spirit of Iran."

In this introduction, "Iran and Humanism," which strikingly reflected all the factors that serve as the ideological basis for the celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great, Professor Grousset says :

"One characteristic that Iran has displayed through the years has been astonishing continuity. Home of one of the most

ancient civilizations of the Old World, Iran has seen its civilization continuously renewed for almost 50 centuries. The Exhibition which took place in Paris in 1948 through loans from the Tehran Museum at the time of the International Orientalist Conference, proved that since the fourth millenium before Christ, the civilization of Susa, or rather the civilization of which Susa was one of the most brilliant examples, extended as far as the Caspian. The same exhibition established that pure Iranian art dates from well before the Achaemenid period ; the very latest discoveries of the Imperial Archaeological Service show that it was already established in Azarbaijan in the eighth century B.C.

“ The torch thus lit upon the Iranian plateau at the dawn of history has never been extinguished. The arrival of the Macedonians did not even amount to an interlude. Alexander not only failed to hellenize Iran ; he iranianized himself by proclaiming that he was the successor of Darius and Xerxes. Soon the Parthian Arsacids (who we know today were of pure Iranian stock) and then the Persian Sassanids restored the beautiful continuity of the empire of the king of Kings.

“ Did Islam break this tradition ? Not at all. Mazdean spiritualism found its ultimate consummation in Islam, in the same way that, in the West, Platonic spiritualism found its ultimate expression in Christianity.

“ There, as here, is a brief visible rupture, but real continuity. Iran embraced Islam with faith and in so doing found Iran once again. Even more, Iran found in Islam new means for action, a new radiance, because the coming of Islam to Iran had to a large extent the reverse effect of carrying the Iranian spirit to vast areas of the Muslim World. History is unwavering in its recognition of the leading role that Iranian scholars, thinkers and artisans, as well as Persian administrators, played in Abbasid civilization as much with the Arab caliphs as at the Turkish court.

“ So forceful was the impact of Iranian civilization that (Just as Greco-Roman civilization after our great invasions) it assimilated the foreigners established on its soil with great facility. After only a small number of years Seljuks, Mongols and Turkomans had become as completely Iranian as the Scandinavians became French

in our Normandy. Each time, through the same radiance of its civilization, Iranianism has reappeared with renewed vitality, continuing to yet another renaissance.....the Samanid and Buyid renaissance of the tenth century, the Safavid renaissance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the present Pahlavi renaissance in the twentieth century.

“This continuity, unbroken through so many centuries, has enabled Iran to develop a civilisation which is profoundly humane and which has displayed this quality ever since its first appearance in history. According to the Greeks as well as the Bible, the Achaemenian Empire, when compared with earlier rulers, distinguished itself by its tolerance towards all religions and all races as well as by the comprehensive and beneficial character of its administration. The Sassanians, although very pious Mazdeans, showed no less tolerance towards the Christian Nestorian Church (which became a second national church), in the west and, in the East, Buddhism, to which they lent their painters and sculptors.

“Shi’ite Iran, from the Abbasid period up to the present day, has shown a similar tolerance towards the various Christian sects (Nestorians or Armenians) as towards the Zoroastrians, and all are represented today in the Parliament.

“Inspired by this broadly humane ideal, by this persistent life of the spirit, Persian literature has given birth to a classicism of merit as universal as Greco-Roman classicism in the West, and to a humanism equally rich in spiritual treasures as that of our Renaissance.

“The Persian poets, of whom Saadi and Hafez for us remain the most perfect examples, are known by everyone in Persia; throughout the Islamic world, by all in Turkish and Arab Asia, they are appreciated just as much as at Isfahan and Shiraz. What am I saying? From Goethe to our Parnassians, their influence has also been felt by all who in the Occident taste the pure lyricism of inspiration in the complete perfection of the form.

“Iran has the privilege of being both Orient and Occident at the same time. Its grammar and vocabulary remain clearly

Indo-European, thus keeping its thought very close to that of the European nations. And yet at the same time it holds all the values of Muslim civilization to which it, itself, has contributed so much.

“The richness of the Iranian tradition has enabled it to welcome the most diverse possible influence without ever renouncing its own identity. Hellenist influence, Arab influence, Sino-Mongol influence have each in their turn been accepted, assimilated, and iranialized. Plato and Aristotle, carried on by the Avicennas, the Ghazalis and the Sohrevardis, received their naturalization papers in Persia, while Chinese art on numerous occasions has been welcomed there with interest.

“A true Central Empire at the heart of the ancient world, Iran thus, without losing any of its own originality, served as a link between East and West. Its language became the literary language of part of Muslim India. Its art, in the Sassanian era, coincided with the development of Byzantine art, and in the Safavid period, with the formation of Indo-Mongol art. Its architecture and its miniatures spread as far as Golconda and Bengal. Long before, in the late Middle Ages, Buddhism had introduced the Iranian schools of painting into China, and it was missionaries coming from Iran who, in the Sassanian and Abbasid period, carried Christianity to the heart of the Chinese Empire.

“We know today that at the time of Marco Polo it was Persian that served as the commercial language of civilization throughout Central Asia from Bokhara to Peking.

“Iran.....if it is permissible for a foreigner to say it, has well served mankind because, as history records, it has made the powerful and refined culture which it developed over the centuries into an instrument of peace and harmony among the nations. Iran was the first among the non-Arab nations to understand and embrace the Prophet and his family ; it was the first Oriental nation to assimilate Greek philosophy, through the Sufis ; it was the first to rediscover, long before our own orientalism, the equivalent of the Buddhist and Brahman mystique. The most diverse races communed and continue to commune through Iranian thought and poetry. Persian poets, as we have noted, have

attained universality. The sentiments that they express directly affect a Frenchman just as they do an Indian, a Turk or a Georgian. The Persian mystics, while profoundly Muslim, speak no less to the heart of a Christian or a Brahman. They, too, belong to humanity as a whole.

“At a time when the United Nations, to save the world from chaos and hatred, has appealed to all mankind, to all people of goodwill, Iranian civilization provides a great historical example; for the common task, a great spiritual force; for the common effort, total support.

“The major problem of the present time is perhaps that of reconciling East and West. Iran is proof that an accord can be realized, since through the genius of its language and thought, through the examples of all its history, it is East and West harmoniously reconciled indissolubly united.”

Cyrus was unquestionably one of the most celebrated figures of the ancient world, a man praised and glorified not only by the great historians of the past, but by the Old Testament as well.

There are so many eulogies that we hear from the great Greek historians, poets and thinkers. Herodotus writes :

“Cyrus was a king of strong character, simple and brave. He treated his subjects with great benevolence and in a paternal spirit. He aspired always for the well-being and happiness of his subjects, so much that, they were accustomed to referring to him as ‘Father.’”

Aeschylus, in his famous Persian tragedy, which in principle was directed against the Persians, none the less presents Cyrus as a just ruler who was anxious for the happiness and well-being of all his subjects, and he wrote of the king :

“He was a happy being : loved by the gods, and possessed of great wisdom.”

Xenophon presents him in the *Cyropaedia* as the best possible model for commanders, the perfect man, the ideal educator, the excellent leader of his people, the friend of humanity, the defender of reason while adhering always to truth and right.

It was this man who founded the Persian Empire 2500 years ago, on the basis of a declaration which can be regarded as the first Declaration of Human Rights in the history of the world.

The sixth century B C. in which Cyrus lived, was later called the "Golden Century" of the ancient world. It was during this century that Confucius was born in China, Buddha in India, Solon in Greece and, according to some Zoroaster in Iran.

Up to this century, the only law governing relations among the countries and peoples was the law of the strongest. Everywhere, the conqueror pillaged and burnt cities and towns, slaughtering or deporting their inhabitants. The temples were sacked and statues of their gods were taken away as war booty.

It was in such a milieu that Cyrus founded the first Indo-European empire in history, the forerunner to the Greek and Roman empires. The founding of this empire was marked by a declaration made by Cyrus after the taking of Babylon. The Babylonian text of this declaration, written in cuneiform on a baked-earth cylinder, was discovered in 1879 during archaeological excavations in Mesopotamia, and is at present in the British Museum in London.

Loyal to his principles, Cyrus freed all the captive slaves in Babylon including the Jews whom he allowed to return to their native country and to rebuild their temples. This action gave rise to the eulogies in the Old Testament and other documents.

What the Persian Empire offered to the world was above all a new social and administrative organization coupled with a new concept of government.

According to Herodotus and other Greek historians, the Achaemenians' state was based upon laws and institutions which they created for the first time in antiquity. The whole of the country was divided into provinces (satrapies). At the head of each was a satrap, who governed it with clearly defined powers and in accordance with the laws of the country. Tribunals and inspectors appointed by the king supervised the smooth conduct of

affairs. Taxes and military levies were made in accordance with new and precise censuses, and no abuse nor exception was tolerated.

Orders went out from Susa and Persepolis, while reports arrived from throughout the vast empire. To establish contact with distant regions, a system of rapid communications was set up, and numerous posts marked the great exit routes. A royal highway stretched from the city of Sardis to Susa; another, regarded as the best of the ancient world, linked Egypt to Persepolis. Commercial exchanges were carried out with monies struck in gold and silver.

Thus, Cyrus brought about not only a geographical and political change in the Old World but above all, he brought into being a new concept of government.

Since the time of Cyrus, the Shahanshah.....the King of Kings, the traditional and official title of the sovereigns of Iran.....has always personified in Iran the national unity and integrity of the country, ultimate symbol of the sovereignty of the entire nation.

During these 25 centuries, numerous countries have been erased from history and condemned to oblivion; others have lost their autonomy by being swallowed up by stronger countries; new countries have been created which have often changed their form of government. Throughout all this time, Iran through perseverance, has succeeded in maintaining its extraordinary continuity even in the face of the most devastating events, and has succeeded in maintaining its own monarchical regime, a product of the nation's way of thinking and culture.

During all this period the king has been considered not only a political and military chief; rather, he has been above all a spiritual guide and educator. The passage of time has so closely tied the Iranian people to its monarchical system that it is impossible to conceive of Iranian culture and civilization without noting the parallelism of these two factors.

It would seem that Arthur Christensen, the great Danish orientalist, gave one of the best definitions of the moral

significance of the monarchy in Iran in the passages in his book entitled "The Role of the Kings in the Tradition of Ancient Iran."

"The model Iranian king is most often an initiator, a sovereign who ushers in a new historical era, either as the founder of a dynasty or as one who rejuvenates the people and country after a period of political and social disorganization. His is a double role: he is the conqueror who has ended a bad regime, and he is the organizer of a new era, a creator of social and administrative institutions, the founder of cities. He builds canals and bridges; he brings into being a new civilization and universal prosperity. But the model king has yet a third function; he is the spiritual guide of his people. Within the Iranian tradition each leading figure, and especially the model king tends to assume the role of the sage."

In his book "The White Revolution", the Shahansha has explained it in the following terms:

"Today more than ever before, a close spiritual union exists between my nation and myself. This has been brought about not only by my resolve to dedicate my existence to the welfare and progress of my people and by the confidence that the nation has shown in me as a result of their experiences during the last 26 years, but by the intrinsic respect and prestige that the institution of the monarchy and the person of the Shah have traditionally held in Iran"

"A real king in Iran is not so much the political head of the nation as a teacher and a leader. He is not only a person who builds roads, bridges, dams and canals, but one who leads them in spirit, thought and heart."

"This possibly may explain why a monarch, if he has the full trust of the people, and uses his great influence, can achieve so much without having to rely on totalitarian measures or wait for slow evolutionary process to achieve his aims."

The history of Iran, from the time of Cyrus up to today, has been more marked than the history of most countries of the world which suffered innumerable trials and tribulations, wars, invasions, massacres, catastrophes.....and all of such an intensity that it would be difficult to find a parallel.

And yet, as history has recorded, it has been Iran who has had each time the last word.

The task of explaining this can go to the Conte de Gobineau one of the best Western students of Persia and its history :

“In Persia, foreign invasions have always had ephemeral effects. The conquerors have rapidly lost their strength through their inability to influence and to corrupt the moral integrity of the people.”

“One can dismantle Persia...even deprive it of its name without, however, being able to end its existence because this people is immortal. Each time I think of this nation, I cannot help thinking of bits of stone scattered by the elements but still resisting the tempests ; the stone remains always what it is, and neither the ravages of time nor the violent blows that it receives can bring about its end.”

THE TAMILS AND THE ART OF DANCE

BY

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and K. R. Venkataraman

I

The study of the patterns of dance among the early Tamils and the changes they underwent through the ages is interesting. From the Śāṅgam works we know that priestesses danced a weird dance, and predicted what evils might befall the community and how they could be averted. This was the *Vēttuvavari* danced before Korāvai who later came to be identified with Durgā, the Mother of Sēyōn. Decked in golden ornaments, the great goddess, who slew the demons, blessed the heroes who went to battle, and on their return, laid their swords at her feet as a thanks offering, and their priests and priestesses danced another weird dance, the *tunangai*. Dwelling in the forest, she, who cleft asunder the hard bosom of Dārūka, witnessed the dance of her spouse, the Lord of Kailāsa; and to recall this Puranic incident, priests garbed as Bhairavas chanted mantras and danced before her, while priestesses garbed as Bhairavis witnessed the performance.

Men and women wearing clusters of *Vēṅgai* (*Ptrecarpus marsupium*) flowers, dripping with honey, sang in unison and danced the *Veriyāṭṭam*, another weird movement in quick tempo or the ring dance *Kuravai* to propitiate Murugan, who often induced violent passions of love. The Kurava folk of the hilly tract, planted a Cock banner smeared with ghee and mustard, made for Vēlan (Murugan or Skanda) garlands of red oleander and green leaves, burnt incense and offered balls of cooked rice mixed with goat's blood and danced the *Kuravai*.

These pen pictures selected at random from the old Śāṅgam anthologies, dating from the second or third to the sixth century A. D. represent some varieties of the dance of the ancient Tamils. They were trance dances having the elements of magic and ritual,

both, means of propitiating the gods and goddesses and rendering thanks for favours received. The earliest of these do not fail to reflect a degree of perfection of the art that must obviously, have been in vogue for some centuries before and gradually developed a regular code of rules. Two broad divisions came to be recognized, the indigenous (*dēśi*) and the classical (*mārga*); both constituted the *ahakkūttu*, different from the variety meant solely for popular enjoyment, the *nakai-k-kūttu* or *purānatam*. The old commentator, *Aḍiyarkkunallar*, enumerates several dances belonging to these two divisions, often designated in 'antithetic pairs'; for example: *Śanti-k-kūttu*, so called because it induced a feeling of repose in the enjoyment of *rasa*, and *Vinōda-k-kūttu*, so called because it imparted a fleeting sense of pleasure—rather of excitement. There was a group of three dances, *Venṛi* depicting a hero's conquest, *Vasai* breathing derision of the foe and *Vinōdam* exhibiting pleasure at the sight of the trophies. There was again a group of eleven dances (*Paḍinoraḍal*) of which *pāṇḍarangam* and *Koḍukōṭṭi* were associated with Śiva in his terrific aspect of *Tripurasambhāramūrti*, *Brahmā* and *Pārvatī* standing near him. Three were associated with *Krishna*; *Alliyam* representing the slaying of a mad elephant, *Mal* when he laid a wrestler low, and the pot dance, *Kuḍam*. With *Murugaṇ* were associated *Tuḍi*, the dance of victory over the demon hosts and *Kuḍaikkūttu* holding an umbrella, as if to pierce the demon in front. *Pēḍu* was Cupid's dance. A dance with a grain measure *Marakkal* was a favourite of *Durgā*, the enchanting, *Pavai* of *Lakshmi* and *Kaḍaiyam* of *Indrāṇī*.

Nandikēśvara in his *Bharatārṇava*,¹ a very late redaction of the dance manuals in the Tamil country, reduced the eleven dances to seven. According to him, *Suddhanāṭya* is associated with Śiva, *Dēśi* with *Pārvatī*, *Peruṇi* with *Brahmā*, *Preṅkhaṇi* with *Sarasvatī*, *Kuṇḍali* with *Viṣṇu*, and *Daṇḍaka* and *Kalaśa* with *Lakshmi*. There is no mention of *Indrāṇī*, as festivals in honour of *Indra* and *Indrāṇī* once prevalent in the land, had later gone out of vogue. The themes then in vogue were the burning of the three cities (*Tripura*), the wedding of Śiva and Śakti, the slaying of *Kuvalayāpīḍa*, *Bāṇāsura*, *Sūrapadma*, or

Dakṣa, the wedding of Uṣhā, the burning of Kāma, Kālī's dance of victory and the charms of Mohini.

No study of ancient Tamil dance will be complete without a reference to the dance-master. The bard, the *Pāṇar* (musician) and the *Kūttar* (dancer) were among the honoured classes in ancient Tamil Society. The *Kūttar* had other names such as *nāṭakar*, *naṭar*, *nṛttar*, *Kaṇṇulālar*, *Vaytriyar*, *Koṭiyar*, *porunar* and *avinaiyar* according to the particular element of dance, they were proficient in. The *porunar*'s duty was to fit the disguises and provide the stage music. The *avinayar* were experts in the science of gestures, *naṭar*, *nāṭakar* and *nṛttar* were proficient respectively in dramatization, silent representation of *bhava* through gestures, and simple rhythmic movements of the legs and hands. Ancient commentators refer to several works on Dramaturgy, such as *Guṇanūl*, *Seyirriyam*, *Madivāṇar nāṭakam*, *Sēnapatyam*, or *Bharatasenāpatayam*, *Muruval* and *Sayantam*. All these are unfortunately lost and are now mere names. The dancer was extolled in long poems and anthologies, the *Kūttar* for instance in *Malaipadukaḍam*, also called *Kūttar-ār-ruppaḍai*.

In dance, as in all other aspects of Culture, the Tamils achieved a fine blend of their own pre-Aryan heritage of folk and tribal forms of a natural and vigorous artistic life (*dēśi* as noted above) with Indo-Aryan ideas and models adapted to the Tamil milieu. In the early historical period, the debt of the South to the North meets the eye rather prominently; but in the course of generations and centuries, the debt is more than amply repaid in almost every sphere, particularly in religion, philosophy, and the fine arts. Under Vijayanagar, moreover, the South was able to preserve the traditional norms of ancient Indian civilization relatively free from the changes due to the impact of Islam, and its culture which was felt more in the North of India, where Muslim rule lasted continuously for six or seven centuries. There was the insignificant episode of the Sultanates of Madurai some 40 years in the 14th century; Tippu Sultan of Mysore was an eclectic Muslim who endowed Hindu temples and wrote frequent letters to the Pontiffs of Śringeri, soliciting their prayers to Goddess Śaradā for the success of his arms. For the rest the Tamil Country never fell under Muslim rule and preserved

her culture relatively pure. This imparts a unique value to a careful study of the forms of art as they developed in this part of India.

II

The light variety of the old Tamil dances was often associated with community feasts and conviviality, but the others developed a high technique as the description in the chapter *Arangerrukadai* of the *Śilappadikāram*, and the commentaries on it would indicate. Round about the sixth century the old Tamil dramatic terms largely dropped out, and there was little to distinguish the old *Kūttu* or *naṭam* from *Bharatanāṭyam*. The legend that on the request of Indra, Brahmā enunciated the *Nāṭya śāstra* and taught it to Bharata became popular, as also in interpretation that the expression *bharata* was acrostic of the initial syllables of *bhava*, *raga* and *tāla*. The old wine of Tamil dance and drama was transferred into a new bottle.

The original aim of *nāṭya* continued as before: it was to elaborate the *rasa* while representing the old legends or Puranic themes. *Nṛtta* added richness through rhythmic movements, often to the accompaniment of music, and *nṛtya* through pantomimic representations of the feelings. *Nāṭya* of vigorous masculine movements is *tāṇḍava*, and of soft, gentle and graceful movements is *lāsya*. The former was displayed by Siva to Tāṇḍu, and the latter by Umā to the celestial danseuses.

Gesticulation or *abhinaya* (from the root *nī* to lead; so called because it leads to the understanding of the *bhāva* and evokes *rasa* or enjoyment) is of four kinds, *āṅgika* or the movement of the six limbs, expression of the eyes, and of the face, poses of the hands and legs, flexure of the waist etc., *vācika* or verbal cadence evoking the appropriate *rasa*; *sattvika* or the portrayal of the physical reactions to emotional stress, and *āharya* or the make-up suitable to the theme. Bharata describes thirteen poses of the head, thirty-six variations in the glances, nine variations of eyeball movements, nine of the eyelids, seven of the eyebrows, six of cheeks, six of the lower lip, chin and mouth, and four types of facial colouration (*mukhaja*); twenty-four poses with one hand, and thirteen with both the hands.

A co-ordination of several movements of the hands and the feet is a *karana*, and two *karanas* make up a *mātrkā* the 'unit of action.' A combination of two or more of such units is an *aṅgahāra*. In a *Karāṇa* the body is naturally static (*sthānaka*) and frequent changes of movement are known as *aṅgahāra*. The appropriate sequence of *aṅgahāras* makes up the dance. Bharata enunciates 108 *karāṇas* and 32 *aṅgahāras*.

III

The third chapter in the *Silappadikāram* gives an attractive word picture of an expert dancer, her physical charms, her mastery of the art and skill in its display. Epigraphical and literary evidences, from the seventh century, conjure up to our minds, a panorama of generations of dancers, who, down the centuries, held an honoured status in society. That the great Rāja Rāja Cōla I selected four hundred of the best *devaganikas* from among numerous artistes from all parts of the realm, to dance in the *Rājaraiesvaram*² is an eloquent indication of how widely the art was practised. Not only royalty, but temple committees, local assemblies, guilds and mercantile corporations lavished bounties on dances. The proficient among them received honorifics and titles—such as *Sāntikkūtti* (for women) and *Periyanāṭṭacarya* (for men). The women dancers often prefixed *nakkan* to their names.

Under the Vijayanagar rulers, Tamil culture was integrated with the cultures of Andhra and Karnāṭa, and this integrated South Indian culture, which prevailed south of the Tungabhadra and the Krishnā, represented the pure Hindu culture in juxtaposition with the Hindu-Islamic culture that was being shaped in the North. The 'Tamil' element in this integrated culture was prominent; Tamil dance forms underwent a process of elaboration and were presented under new names, but their genius was not lost. This integrated culture was fostered not only in the imperial capital, but also in the capitals of the provincial Nāyaks, who in course of time became independent monarchs. The

2. There was an office designated *nattuvāṅgam* in the *Rājaraiesvaram*. The holder was the dance-master-in-chief.

Nāyaks, of Tanjore, under whom Tanjore city became the cultural centre of the South, evolved and perfected out of the old forms, such new forms as the *Yakshagana* ballet and the *Bommalaṭṭam*. In Rāmabhadraṁbā, for example, we have an example of a lady in the royal harem, a skilled dancer, who performed before the Nāyak and his courtiers in an elaborate stage put up within the palace. During this age dance and music perfected an idiom which is found in the monumental works *Caturdaṇḍi-prakāśa* and *Saṅgītasudha nīdhi*. The Maratha successors of the Nāyak dynasty elaborated the idiom, and in a real sense set the modern and current norm for *Bharatanāṭyam* in the Tamil country. Rājā Sarfoji, for instance, who blended Marāṭhi songs with carnatīc music and Bharata-nāṭyam, composed dance pieces in Marāṭhi³ to fit in with the scheme of Tamil dancing; the different items of the dance retain their Tamil names. The Marāṭha kings enlarged and designed the *Saṅgītaśālā* with such acoustic perfection that from the remotest corners of the hall one could hear the softest tune and the highest footfall; the hall which is a triumph of artistic and engineering skill symbolizes the acme of the evolution of the dance hall from the *kiṭṭambalam* of the *Śīlapadikaram* age. The audience halls in the Nāyak palaces in Madurai and Tiruchirāpallī are also designed to serve as music halls. And this art impulse was fostered in the far South by the later Pāṇḍyas of the Tirunelvēlī and the rulers of Vañci (South Travancore).

IV

Starting as a ritual, dance in the Tamilnad progressively reflected the evolution of philosophical and religious thought. The description in *Maṇimekalai* of priests putting on the guise of Bhairavas is indicative of Kālamuka influence during the early centuries following the Christian era. The Sāṁkhyan concept of the universe of matter and soul 'dancing' is reflected in Tirumūlar. 'The dance of Prakṛti,' says he, 'proceeds on one side; the jñāna dance on the other. Śakti and Śiva are embodied as Sakalā Śiva, and this supra-cosmic union is the symbol of

ananda, the twain dance.' Here are the germs of the evolution of the dancing figure of Śiva, and to this day, the dancer presents Śiva-Śakti or *ananda* dance as part of his or her repertoire.

Among the Jains, who generally scorned sensual pleasures, there were adepts in art and aesthetics. The *bhavya*, or 'seeker of Truth' is represented in Jain art with bodily, flexure poses and facial expressions and taints appropriate to the purity of his soul, and dancing *Yakshis* occur in Jaina sculptures.

Śaṅkara's lofty philosophy enriched the content of mysticism. The concept of the oneness of all existence, the illusory nature of the differences and limitations caused by time, space and causation, dominated art. The subjugation of the ego which projects the world of appearances by spiritual wisdom received art expression as the struggle between the gods and the asuras—a theme delineated in several dance forms.

Another approach to this mystic element is the conception of the supreme Purusha who projects the universe of matter and mind, sustains it, and finally integrates it in himself. Yet another is the approach of the Jīva, or the individual soul to Supreme (Śringāra) Purusha. This is expressed in the *bhava* of *Śringāra*—the union of the bride with her beloved. All art in the Tamil country subsequent to the 7-8th century has for its inspiration one or other of the above themes.

Śiva dancing over the *apasmāra purusha*, Devi over the severed head of Mahisha, Kṛṣṇa over the hoods of Kālīya, and Subrahmaṇya with his peacock illustrate the triumph of God as *cit*-over the ego (*ahamkāra*) which is the root cause of *saṁsāra*.

The forms of Naṭarāja's dance, relate to *sṛishti* (creation) *sthiti* (sustenance) and *saṁhāra* (destruction or involution), the Lord's *Līla* in shrouding the soul with nescience, or finally releasing it from bondage. The dance in Chidambaram represents all the five (*pañcakṛitya*) and is known as the *ānanda* or *nadānda*, dance.⁴ On the *Ārdrā* day in the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa*, the idol

4. Further elaborated in the sequel.

of Naṭarāja is bathed, decked and taken out in procession. The bearers exhibit a peculiar 'foot-movement,' particular flexures and poses, presenting a verisimilitude of sheer ecstasy. The particular musical accompaniment heightens the feeling among the worshippers.

The Upanishads and the *Siddhānta* equate the supreme with the cosmic *prāṇa* (vital energy), the gross manifestation of which are the 'five vital airs' that sustain the microcosm. *Prāṇa* when regulated sustains; and this regulation termed *hamsa* or *ajapa* in the language of Yogic mysticism, is represented as a dance, the *ajapa* dance of Tyāgarāja Śiva in His triune aspect of *sat*, *cit* and *ananda*, iconically represented as *Somāskanda* (ie. together with Umā, and Skanda) who dwells in the cavity of the heart, gently dancing with every inflowing and outgoing current of the *prāṇa*. This dance is represented in seven shrines in the Tamil country, of which Tiruvārūr, Nāgaṭṭinam, Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruvānmiyam are the more important. On the *Uttara Phalguni* day in the month of *Phalgun* the idol of *Somāskanda* is taken out; the tread of the bearers' feet, and the bodily flexures, and the oscillation of the idol to the tune of a special instrument conjure up a 'dance vision.'

Whenever the idol of Ranganātha in Śrīrangam is taken out in procession, the bearers walk in differently modulated gaits known as *Vaiyāḷi*; they simulate the movement of an elephant (*gaja gati*) or of a horse (*aśva gati*) or of a serpent (*sarpa gati*) as the occasion demands. The celebrated *Vaikunṭha-ekādaśi* festival in December-January is very interesting for a close study of Tamil dance forms. The idol decked in an armour of rubies is taken in procession through a particular vestibule not used for other festivals, which represents the 'path of light' (*arcirādi mārga*) of a liberated soul. A spot is marked as the *Virāja*, where the soul is believed to bathe in the 'waters of immortality'. Priests chant the Vedas to signify the realization by the soul of supreme *jñāna*. A silk shroud thrown over the idol is now removed to signify that the soul casts off all *vasanās*. A door way kept closed throughout the year now opens for the idol to pass through. Finally, the *manimaṇḍapa* in the midst of a thousand pillared hall is reached. The progress through all these stages takes several hours,—the *Vaiyāḷi* or *Oyyāra* gait appropriate for each stage is noteworthy,

and throughout there is a transmundane air, a something eerie about the dance movement and the attendant ritual. This festival is a long drawn affair of twenty days; and on all these days a band of dancers called *aṛaiyar* chant the Vaishṇava *prabandham* (the hymns of the *Ālvārs*), and exhibit select hymns with *nṛtta* and suitable *abhinaya*. The selected hymns relate to the Lord's *līlas*, and conferment of boons on His devotees. Particularly appealing are those that sing of the rapturous devotion of Nammālvār (Śathakōpa) expressed in the erotic sentiments of a bride offering herself to her beloved. The longing of the bride, the pangs of separation, the hope of union, and the final union are all displayed with suitable *abhinaya*. The last incident is dramatized, as it were, by decking the image of Nammālvār as a charming bride and leading it to the image of Ranganātha, the *aṛaiyars* following every act of the ritual with the exhibition of *abhinaya* and *nṛtta*.

Like the hymns (*paṇs*) of the *Prabandhams* those of the *Dēvāram* sung by the Śaiva Nāyanārs lend themselves to *abhinaya* and *nṛtta*. Tirunakka and his wife set Śambandar's *paṇs* to music, and played them on the *yāl* while Śambandar danced in ecstasy. Idols of dancing Śambandar are common in Tamil temples: Māṇikkavāṣagar like Nammālvār and Āṇḍāl offered his soul as a bride to the Lord; and several of his hymns, portraying the *madhuribhava* are exhibited in *abhinaya*.

The daily divine service in the temple is not complete without a dance performance to the accompaniment of music, vocal and instrumental (*nṛtta*, *gita* and *vāḍya*) by dancing girls, specially dedicated to the temple.⁵

The dancers and musicians walk in front of gods and goddesses during processions performing at regular intervals, or waving fly-whisks or carrying lamps. *Kūttus*⁶ are performed within the precincts or in front of the temple. The theme is generally taken from the *Ramayāṇa* or *Mahābhārata* or other

5. Now that dedication of girls to temples has been prohibited, these performances have stopped.

6. One variety of these *Kūttus* is the *Kuṟavaṇji* which will be described later.

classics; the life of Rāma, the wanderings and sufferings of the Pāndavas, the martyrdom of Hariscandra or Nala, or the escape of Mārkaṇḍeya from Death, or the tragic fate of Kovalan or Nallatangal, or some incidents from the *purāṇa* composed in honour of the local deity. The performance which lasts the whole night is continued the next night from where it broke off previously; thus it is staged for several nights, enlivening the audience with songs and dance. A common amusement in temples is for young men or young women to form a ring and dance. One variety of this dance is the *Kōlaṭṭam*. The performers—usually women—hold a stick in each hand and move in various patterns, each constantly striking her sticks against those held by others in rhythm. Sometimes they play with the sticks, in one hand and each holding with the other hand the end of one of many cords hanging in a cluster from a cross beam. Rhythmically gyrating they plait the cords, and again, by reversing the series of movements unravel the plait. In the *Kummi* dance, sticks are not used, but girls move rhythmically clapping their hands. The songs selected are incidents from the *Purāṇas*, particularly from the Krishna cycle of legends or the cycle of legends relating to the principal deity in the Madurai temple (the sixty four *tiruvilaiyaḍal* as they are called). *Kōlaṭṭam* and *Kummi* form part of women's amusement on occasions of weddings and other auspicious domestic events. A month or two after Dipāvali is specially set apart for girls to amuse themselves with *Kōlaṭṭam*, and they conclude this season of mirth with a grand celebration⁷, in which elders also participate.

Some dances are of an expiatory or *ex-voto* nature. One is the *Karagam* dance. The village deity is represented by a pot (*Karagam*) decorated with margosa leaves and flowers, which is carried through the village with great honour. The bearer dances all the way carrying sometimes as many as seven pots placed one above another, and displays a series of intricate flexures of the body while all the time the pot or pots are held in position. Beginning in a slow tempo, the dance gathers momentum to the accompaniment of drums and the blowing of pipes before a tense audience, and when the crescendo is reached, the performer is well

7. called *Kōlaṭṭajōrai* or *Suvattirai*

nigh in a state of trance. Another is the *Kavaḍi* dance. A bent pole, decorated with flowers and fastened over a straight string on to the ends of which pots containing sugar, or honey, or milk are attached, is carried on the shoulder, and the bearer walks round the temple and into it dancing to the tune of a special composition called *Kavaḍichindu*. More weird is the dance during the fire-walking festival performed in temples dedicated to *Mariamman*⁸ or *Angāḷamman*. With heads crowned with flowers and bodies decked with saffron, and clad in saffron coloured waist cloth, the performer comes dancing to the fire, stirs it into a blaze, and walks rhythmically either fast or slow according to his zeal over hot coals extending to many feet in length. To heighten the effect of his gestures, he often whirls lances, sabres or standards.

Before concluding this section, a word may be said about the repertoire of a dance party in the Tamil districts today. It includes such devotional compositions in Tamil as the *Ramanāṭakam* and *Nandanār caritram* and compositions from other languages—the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, the *Tarangas* of Nārāyaṇa tirtha, the *Kṛishṇakarnāmrītasotra* and the hymns of Sadāśivendra, all in Sanskrit, the *padams* of Purandaradāsa and other 'Dāsa' hymnists in Kannada, the *abhangs* and *aryās* of Marāṭha saints and Telugu *padams* of Kshetrajña and others. The compositions of the Bhāgavatas of the Merlattūr school of dance, which is the counterpart in the Tamil country of the Kūchīpūdī stage dramas, are mostly in Telugu. In what is popularly known as the *Harikathakalakshepam* a heritage of the Marāṭha impact, the skilful performer drives home a significant situation in his exposition with *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*. Dancing and music on the lines of the *bhajanās* in the temple of Pandharpur are now very common in the Tamil districts; they provide for *nṛtta*, *abhinaya* and group dance (*mandali*). The composition relates to Vishnu or Śiva or Devi, and the festival concludes with a wedding such as *Rādhākalyāṇam*⁹ and *Mīnākshikalyāṇam*; and back of it all is the theme of the soul's quest for union with the Supreme. These forms of dance and music attract the worldly minded audience to the great theme of *liberation*, which is their *leitmotiv*.

8. The Tamil counterpart of Sitalādevī.

9. *Kalyāṇam* is used in the sense of *Parīṇaya*.

Nowhere have the plastic and pictorial arts been employed to propagate dance forms as widely as in the Tamil country. The status represented in the static (*samapada*) poses are either *sthanaka* (erect) or in *bhaṅga* (even bend) or in *abhaṅga* slight bend or in *tribhaṅga* (triple bend) or in *atibhaṅga* several bends); and with their *mudrās* and *bhāvas*, they form a schemata. Nandikeśvara¹⁰ enunciates six standing poses which are masculine, eleven feminine and eighteen common. The *aṅgahāra* associated with them varies according to the *rasa* sought to be depicted; *lalita aṅgahāra* to depict *śringāra rasa*, *Vikrama* for *Vīra rasa*, *Karunika* for *Karuṇa*, *Vicitra* for *adbhuta*, *vikata* for *hasya*, *Bhima* for *bhayanaka*, *vikṛta* for *bībhatsa*, *ugrātara* for *raudra*, and *śāntya* for *śānta*.¹¹

Represented with bulging eyes and inflated with divine fury, the *ugra* or *nigraha mūrtis* terrific aspects of Gods and Goddesses, or as diffusing silent radiance bliss and serenity, the *śānta* and *anugraha mūrti* (beneficent aspects),—all of them invariably display one or more *Karaṇas*. Even abnormal representations like the *Kirtimukhas* convey some appropriate *karaṇas*. The celestial dancers moving in the atmosphere or amidst vegetation or in water are resilient with the movement of breath associated respectively with levitation, productivity or sustenance. The uncouth *bhūtagaṇas* blowing into blow pipes or conches are again air-filled, and suggestive of movement.

The *ugra mūrtis*, often shown in the *Catura* mode exhibit such *mudrās* as *sūci*, and *Vismaya*, characteristic of the *bhāva* of triumphing over evil forces. Eight terrific forms of Śiva are widely prevalent; they represent dynamic movement, Tripura Sambhāra, Gajāri, Madanāntaka, Kālāntaka, Bhairava, Virabhadra etc. Eight shrines in the Tamilnād, celebrate these eight forms, and they are called *Virattanas* (Sanskrit: *Vīra ashta sthana*). The *bhāva* of the *śānta mūrtis* is emphasized by the gaze, the facial expression, the *bhaṅgas*, and such *mudrās*, as *Kāṭaka*, *mṛgi*, *pallava*, *patākā*, *ardhacandra* and *mukula*. The

10. Op. cit.

11. These *rasas* evoke respectively the feeling of love, heroism, compassion, wonder, merriment, fear, disgust, anger and calm equipoise.

nṛtta mūrtis are those of Śiva, Devī, Krishna, Skanda, Gaṇapati, and the saint Sambandar.

The earliest idols were of brick and stucco, (*sudha*) and perhaps the earliest specimens of sculptures in stone in South India are those of Amarāvati. Among the latter are figures of groups of dancers who exhibit several of the *Karaṇas*, and suggestion of movements answering to what we call today *alarippu pushpāñjali* etc. They exhibit the *aligha ardhamattala* and some other *sthānas*. There is also suggestion of all the elements of *abhinaya*. All the elements found in plastic expression in the Amarāvati sculptures have their counterparts in some of the verbal descriptions in the *Śilapadikaram*, composed in a couple of centuries or more later. The oldest known portrait of dancing, Śiva in the *Ūrddhvatāṇḍava* pose is in *Panamalai* (7th century). Strikingly attractive are the *Karaṇas* of the *bhavyas* represented as sporting in a lotus tank, in the Sittannavāsāl frescoes (8th century)—particularly the *lasyas* (suggestive of the *āharya* element in *abhinaya*); deep red (*padmalesya*) of two of them and orange (*pīthalesya*) of the third; both signify 'purity of the soul.' One of the charming dancers portrayed here holds out her left hand in the *daṇḍa* or *lolahasta* or *latavriścika* gesture and exhibits the *abhaya* gesture with the right hand. The other dancer has her left hand in the *gajahasta* mode, and with the right, shows the *abhaya* gesture. The frescoes in the innermost *prākara* of *Rājarajeshvaram* in Tanjore (beginning of the 11th century) include figures of *apsarasas*. One panel represents a dance concert, celestial women dancing to the accompaniment of drums played by Gandharvas. Another relates to a concert in the presence of Śiva and Pārvatī in Kailāsa; the *apsara* dances display the *svastika karaṇas*. There are other dances in a charming gyrating pose. Wall paintings of dancing figures continued down the centuries, but owing to the perishable nature of the materials, very few survive. There are examples in the temples of Śrīrangam, Tanjore (Nāyak period), and Tiruvārūr; and these help us to study the costumes and ornaments of the dancers in the several periods. Modern paintings, though suggestive of the continuity of the art, are poor specimens from an aesthetic point of view. Wood carvings on temple cars and on jambs and lintels of doors are replete with dancing sense, reproducing the appropriate *Karaṇas*, *nṛtta hastas*, *cāris* and *sthānas*.

To revert to sculpture: Perhaps the earliest example of Siva *tandava* in the *bhujangatrāsita Karana* is the one in Mahendravadi, of the reign of Mahendravarman Pallava I. A similar one occurs on one of the *rathas* in Māmallapuram of the time of Narasimhavarman I. It may be mentioned in passing that on the Dharmarājaraṭha is a figure of Krishna dancing on the serpent Kāṣiṃyā. Several Siva *tandava* figures occur in the Kailāsanātha temple in Kāñchi, including some in the *ūrdhva tāṇḍava* pose, (a variation of *lalāta tilaka*). This mode is particularly celebrated in Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a place associated with the life of saint Kāraikāl Ammaiyār. A Pāṇḍyan counterpart of the period occurs in Tirumalaipuram; here Siva is represented in the *ardha mattali* pose, a *Karana* much prevalent in the sculptures of the Pāṇḍya country.

The Kūram bronze (now in the Madras Museum) shows the *ūrdhva jānu* pose; and the Nallūr bronze, the *bhujanga trāsita* pose. The one from Poruppumēṭṭupatti, Madurai district, (also in the Madras Museum) shows the *bhujangāñcita karana*, the right leg lifted, instead of the left, a feature occurring in the Natarāja in the *Vellī ambalam* (Silver hall) within the Mīnākshi-Sundaresvara temple in Madurai.

The period covering the four centuries from the 10th to the 13th is remarkable for its sculptural activity in the Tamilnāḍ. Natarāja was the patron deity of the Cōlas, under whose patronage several hundreds of Natarāja bronzes were cast and enshrined in all temples. *Ūrdhva jānu* or *catura* (e.g. the Natarāja bronze discovered in Tiruvarangulam) and other forms were not forgotten, but prominence was given to the *ananda tāṇḍava* form celebrated in the *citsabha* at Chidambaram. The Natarāja shrines in all the other temples were replicas of the Chidambaram *sabha*. It is not possible within the limits of this monograph to study¹² even the more famous specimens, several of which are the valued possessions of museums all over the world.

From about the 15th century Natarāja sculptures and bronzes become 'stylized', often represented with several hands, eight,

12. This fascinating study deserves careful research. P. Z. Pattabhiramin's *Tandava de Siva* (Pondicherry, 1950) in French and Mayilai S. Venkataswami's *Seven Dances of Siva* (in Tamil) are just pioneer attempts.

ten, or even sixteen, and though they lack the grace and suavity of Cōla bronzes, are nevertheless imposing.

Rāja Rāja Chōla I not only decorated the temple *Vimānam* with a fine sculpture of Naṭarāja, and had several cast in bronze, but on the inner walls of the first storey of the *Vimānam*, sculptured a series of panels representing the different forms of *tāṇḍāva*; eighty-one of them are complete; and display marvellous skill in execution. A later representation of the 108 *karaṇas* is found in the panels of a *gōṇṇam* and the plinth of a *maṇḍapam* in the Chidambaram temple.¹³ The more popular *karaṇas* are represented in the plinths of the *maṇḍapams* in several other temples; such as the *Nāgeśvaram* in Kumbakonam and the *Jambukeśvaram* in Tiruvānaikōil.

Nothing illustrates better the great hold that Naṭarāja has upon the Tamil mind, than their assigning in every Śiva temple, a separate hall for his idol, and not satisfied with this, they celebrate some places as famous 'halls of dance' and have assigned to them special names; the *sabhā* in Chidambaram is the *Golden hall* (*Kanakasabhā*), that in Madurai is the *silver hall* (*Rajata sabhā*), that in Tirunelvēli is the *Copper hall* (*Tamra sabhā*)¹⁴ and that in Courtallam the *hall of paintings* (*Citra sabhā*). In Chidambaram there is a Naṭarāja idol carved in ruby (*Ratna-sabhāpati*) and in Uttarakōsamangai (*Rāmanāthapuram*) one carved in emerald (*Marakata*). Equally celebrated are the *sabhās* in Tiruvālangādu (about forty miles from Madras) and Pērūr (Coimbatore.)

No representation of a deity has evoked so vast an esoteric literature in prose and verse, in Sanskrit and Tamil, as that of Natarāja Śiva. The mystic sees in the dance the Lord's *Pañca-kṛtya* or five-fold activity. The sound emanating from the drum in the upper right hand brings the universe into life, the *abhaya* hand nourishes all life, the fire in the upper left hand dissolves the

13. B. V. Narayanaswami's *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam* reproduces all these figures with the labels under them.

14. Named after the metal largely used in covering the roof of the hall. Several kings (Cōla and Pāṇḍya) are reputed to have covered the shrine of Naṭarāja in Chidambaram with gold plates.

universe during *pralaya*, the leg firmly planted on the prostrate body of the *apasmārapurusha*, who stands for the ego of the self, keeps the soul under the illusion of *samsāra*, and the uplifted leg liberates the bound soul. The *prabhāvali* stands for Nature which is aglow and throbbing with life by the *nāda* (sound) of the Lord's tambourine. In the whole composition, the mystic meaning of the *pranava* which has five syllables (*a, u, m, mātra* and *ardhamātrā*) is said to find expression; as also the esoteric significance of the *pañcakshari mantra*, which is the 'core of Vedic wisdom.' 'Śiva rises from his rapture,' writes Ananda K. Coomaraswamy 'and dancing sends through inert matter pulsating waves of awakening sound. Lo! matter dances appearing like a glory round about him. Dancing, He sustains its manifold phenomenon; still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire, and gives now rest.' The purpose of the dance is *grace*. And Havell remarks: 'Round the static centre revolves the moving cosmic force as electrons revolve round the static centre of the atom. The *nādānta* dance personifies the kinetic aspect or the spiral force of Yoga.' With all the vitality and force that the figure of Naṭarāja conveys, there is in it a marked suavity and gentle grace that made Rodin exclaim *puissamment doux*!

The ecstatic delight in contemplating Naṭarāja should not be allowed to hide from our view the innumerable panels on the temple walls and plinths depicting danseuses and musicians. There are long rows of them in several temples.

This section will not be complete without mention of one of the most astounding of the productions of the South Indian sculptor, the 'musical pillars' that vibrate with resonance the moment they are hit with a small stone or a wooden mallet. They occur in Hampi, and in Tadpatri and down south in the Tamil country in Madurai, Tādikombu, Śrīvilliputtūr, Tirunelveli, Suchindram, Tirukōḍikāval and other places. They are either columns of stone or sculptures. Some pillars, when struck, sound the drone, and some others the different tunes that will serve as accompaniment for a choir of singers and actors. Others in *nṛtta mandapas* (the one in Hampi is the largest) even provide the series of *jatisvaras* for dancers to activate their foot and hand movements.

Art, Religion and Science are connoted by the term *Vidya* both in Sanskrit and in Tamil; they form a triune. The art of dance finds support in the sister arts—music, sculpture and painting. It is suffused with religion. And much scientific imagination and accomplishment have also gone into its perfection.

VI

The Dance Pieces in Marāthi, composed by Raja Sarfoji or Sarbhaji,¹⁵ (1798–1833) gives a complete picture of the items of a Bharata nāṭya performance. First come two items, *Jaya*, *Jaya* and *Saraṇu Saraṇu*—dedicatory pieces to the chosen Deity sung and acted on the lines of the *todayamaṅgalam* in the *Bhāgavatamela* dance plays. The third item is *Serva* or *Alaru* (now called *alāriṭṭu* or *pushpāñjali*) consisting of *sahityas* (compositions) conveying the artistes homage to the audience. The presentation is through rhythmic movements of *adavus*.¹⁶ *Ādityan* which comes next has just one line in the composition, and its purpose is not now known. In *sollu* (now called *sollukattu*) occurs a series of *jatisvaram* (or brief *svara sahitya* or combination of *svara* and *tala* without any theme). This is also part of the invocation. Next comes *śabdham*, constituting the genesis of the story conveyed through *abhinaya* and *nṛtya* in a slow tempo. This is followed by *varṇam* which, when properly rendered, is the *chef d'oeuvre* of the whole performance partaking of *nṛtya* and *abhinaya*. *Tanavarṇam* is the musical piece, and *padavarṇam* the *nṛtya* piece set to a romantic but devotional theme. The first sentence is immediately rendered through *abhinaya*, and similarly all the rest, in sequence. A *varṇa* is full of *tīrmanas* (lit-determinations), one in the beginning and the rest in between the passages. This item which maintains a balance between *nṛita* and *nṛtya*, is replete with *citta svaras*, and gives the artiste full scope for rendering the subtle cadences of hand and foot movements to remarkable effect. *Pudam* or *Sahitya*, follows:

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15. Short for Sarabhendra. These compositions have been published by the Tanjore Palace Sarasvati Mahāl Library.
 16. *Adavu* is a 'Moving pose' with appropriate *nṛtta hasta* and regulated by *tala*. The 'Tanjore Brothers' - Chinniah, Ponniah, Sivanandam and Vadivel classified the *adavus* into 12 major divisions, each having 10 subdivisions - 120 *adavus* in all.

In order effectively to bring out the *bhāva* and *rasa*, it is rendered in a slow tempo ending with a *svarajati*. Also in the next item *tillana* or *tirana* (so called because the syllables *ti*, *ra*, and *na* occur frequently), *svarajati* is important. Then another *abhinaya* course follows with *sahitya*, but without *jati* or *Cittasvara*. Next come one after another *jakkini*, about which nothing is known now. *gitam* to indicate the *Chāya* or delicate nuances of the *rāga*, *prabandha* an old composition bearing on the theme, and *triputam* or *tirvidam* which is a form of *Desiya*, *nṛtta*. The *slokaṃ*, a verse rendered with *abhinaya*, *kavuttam*, a final song in praise of the Deity with appropriate instrumental accompaniment, and *maṅgalam* close the performance.

This long-drawn out programme has since been simplified, by the 'Tanjore Brothers.' A modern performance includes *alariṭṭu*, *jatisvaram*, *śabdam*, *varṇam*, *padam*, *ślokaṃ*, *jāvali*, and *tillana* closing with *maṅgalam*.

Before concluding this section, it may be necessary to explain further some of the terms occurring above. The oldest known *padams* are those of Saint Purandaradāsa (16th century). He clothes *śringāra rasa* in exquisite imagery, and sublimates it to express the deep yearning of the human soul for union with the Lord. Set in slow tempo, his *padams* are excellent dance music to be rendered to the accompaniment of *tripuṭa tāla* (seven beats) with intricate *abhinaya*. They were made up of *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *caranam*. Kshetrajña's *padams* (17th century) have a charm of their own. Towards the close of the 18th century, Dharmapuri Subharāma Aiyar composed some good *padams*.

Jāvali which is derived from a Kannada word, is a lyric in simple language, full of amorous sentiment; rendered in a fast tempo, in the *āḍitala* (8 beats) or *rūpakatala* (6 beats) and comprises a *pallavi* and *Caranam*.

The *jati* passages occurring in the old *kīrtanas* must have suggested the composition of *tillana* which is a string of rhythmic syllables adaptable for *laya* instruments, *abhinaya* and *nṛtta*. Rājās Pratap Singh (1739-63) and Tulja (1763-87) made it part of *nāṭya* performances while Virabhadriah set it to Carnatic music. There is a *tillana* in praise of Rājā Tulja. It became popular all over South India and such masters as Pallavi Seshaiyar, Viṇa

Kuppier, Ramnad Srinivasa Aiyangar and Mahārāja Svāti Tirunāl have composed exquisite *tillanas*, both on secular and spiritual themes.

VII

Folk dances¹⁷ reflect the virile life of the village folk, and their joyous unsophisticated response to beauty. One of them, the *Kuravañji* is a development of the *Kuḷuva* dance depicting the simple amours of the Kurava folk. To this was later added the theme of a damsel falling in love with the Deity of the place, and pining for union with Him. The heroine has a confidant, her *sakhi* who acts as a love-messenger. The Kuravas in the play are called Singan and Singi. Singi, true to the tribe's pretensions to fortune telling, reads the heroine's palm and predicts happiness and success in her love affair. The jealous Singam, who goes in search of his spouse, reprimands her for her absence from the house; and their quarrel affords a humourous interlude. The songs are in the *asiriyappa*, *śindu* or *Kanni* metres. *Kuravañji* is generally enacted in temples. *Tirukkurrālakkuravañji*, *Ardhana-rīśvara kuravañji* and *Tiruvārūr Kuravañji* are some well known examples. To please the variety of kings and chiefs, they were introduced as heroes. The *Sarabhendrabhūpala Kuravañji* is an outstanding example. There are several in honour of Marava and Kallar chieftains,¹⁸ all belonging to the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

Another opera, but acted by men (*bhāgavatars*) of the Brahman community) has its origin in Melattūr, near Tanjore. It is popularly known as the *Bhāgavata mēla*. Deriving inspiration from Nārāyana Tirtha's *Kṛṣṇalīlataṅgini* and his *Yakshagāna* play, *Parijātaḥaranam*, Venkatarama Bhāgavatar of Melattūr, an elder contemporary of saint Tyāgarāja, composed in Telugu twelve opera plays based on Purāṇic themes, and enacted them before the local temple. Bālu Bhāgavatar of Sūlamaṅgalam an adjoining village, is another exponent of this dance drama.

17. Some of these have been noticed in a previous section.

18. The *Virāḷimalai Kuravañji* which the Devadāsīs of the temple had been performing, was in danger of being forgotten. It is to the credit of N. Syamala, a pupil of P. Sambamurti, that she has collected the text and edited it.

These dramas are now enacted in the month of *Vaiśakha* (May-June) in some Tanjore villages, such as Melattūr, Sūlamangalam and Sāliyamangalam. It is remarkable how these men artistes exhibit all the charms of feminine *abhinaya*, foot movements, and flexures. They wear appropriate masks and play on an improvised stage where the actors and back-ground musicians move about all the time before the gaze of the audience.

The Tamil marionette show, called *bommalattam*, is another refined folk entertainment afforded by dancing dolls, suitably decorated. Their movements are manipulated from behind the scene by experts in the craft with the help of black strings. To the accompaniment of music played in classic mode, the dolls dance *nāṭya* items such as *alarippu*, *jatisvaram* and *tillana*. The *bommalattam* which was patronized by the Tanjore Nayaks, had its great exponent in Nānu Aiyangar for whose performances Vira Kavirāyar wrote short plays. The art is now lingering, and is in need of patronage for a healthy revival. Till just a few decades ago it was a common sight in street corners, to find beggars throwing shadows of dolls on a white screen with the help of a chief oil lamp, and by moving them producing silhouettes of dancing figures. These cheap plays are now practically extinct.

The *puraviattam* (*Poykālcutirai*—dummy horse show) is a common entertainment in festivals. A horse made of bamboo frame work, pasted over with paper and card board, painted and saddled has a hole in its body big enough for a man to stand in, and simulate the activities of a driver. His feet rest on short stilts, and his body above the waist is visible. He dances on his stilts to the tune of *nāgasvaram* or a modern orchestra, capering and gyrating in alternately slow or quick tempo.

A vigorous dance by a group of fifteen to twenty men is the *Oyilattam*. The performers are trained by an experienced elder who captains the team. Clad in gaudy coloured breeches and shirts with ankle bells and shoulder scarfs and bearing staffs they move vigorously in a circle waving coloured towels. The leader starts the song, which the others repeat in chorus, dancing in simple steps. *Oyilattam* performances in temples have for their themes the wedding of Valli, episodes from the Purāṇas or the exploits of local deities; elsewhere the theme is martial and

relates to the exploits of chiefs. The dance songs are in the *Śindu* or *Kanni* metre. *Valandan* is another martial composition rendered in group dance. The *Anbunattu Valandan* for long popular in the Pudukkōṭṭai country, extols the rulers of the Tondaimān royal house. *Kuluval* is another variety. These martial dances were much in vogue in the Tiruchirāpalli, Madurai, and Rāmanāthapuram districts, the homes of the Maravar and the Kaḷlar, while in Coimbatore the theme was *Puranic*. *Cakkaiattam* once popular in parts of Tanjore and Tiruchirapalli, was played to glorify Murugan, Māriamman and other deities. While dancing, the performers manipulated four short sticks strung in a thread and held between the fingers. The *Silambuattam*, part of a course of physical training for men, has some entertainment value in villages. The movement of limbs and steps, leaps, jumps and bends, and the brandishing of the staff are all based on definite rules.

VIII

The ancient Tamils used a variety of instruments,—the *yāl*, the flute, (*Kulal*), horns and trumpets, bells, varieties of drums—*mṛdanga bheri* (kettledrum), *uḍukkai*, *tamukku* etc. the conch and cymbals. *Nagasvaram*, an instrument highly developed in the Tamil country, now supplies the accompaniment to *Kolattam*, *puraviattam* and temple *kūttus*. An orchestra including one or two *nagasvarams*, *tavil*, *pambai* and *tamukku*, called collectively *naiyandi mēlam*, is used for *karagam*, and *kāvadi* dances and dummy horse shows; and the *mṛdangam* and cymbals for *Oyilattam*. The orchestra for the nautch or *Bharatanatyam* comprises *mṛdangam*, *kulittalam* (cymbals), *tuttinam* (bag-pipe or drone) and the *mukhavina* and flute, which sometimes give place to clarinet or violin. The clarinet was introduced for the first time in 1860 by Mahadeva Nattuvanār, and because of the facility it provides for artistes to play music in any pitch or key, within the compass of three octaves it is largely used in nautch, producing 'various graces and quarter tones.'

There are percussion and wind instruments specially designed for use in particular temples.¹⁹

19. These instruments deserve careful study by scholars interested in Musicology.

IX

In wall paintings depicting dance scenes from the time of Rāja Rāja Cōla, the *nattuwan* (*natañacarya*) dressed in close jacket and embroidered *angavastram* tied round the waist, head covered with a scarf or turban, is a conspicuous figure. He is the soul of the concert, and complete master of the programme, directing every item and guiding every dance movement. The 'Tanjore Brothers', to whom reference has been made earlier, were pupils of the great saint and composer Muttusvāmi Dikshitar. The eldest, Chinniah, and youngest, Vadivēlu, attached themselves respectively to the royal courts of Mysore and Travancore, while the other two, Ponniah and Śivānandan, continued to hold the hereditary office of *nattuvaṅgam* in the Tanjore temple, under the patronage of the Marātha Rājas. Their descendants constituted, what came to be known as, the 'Tanjore School' of *nattuwanars*, which spread its influence among many centres in the Tanjore district, in Pudukkottai,²⁰ in the Madurai country, in Mysore and in Travancore. Pandanallur Mīnākshi Sundaram Pillai is acclaimed as a great master, and his sons, who settled in Madras, have kept up the reputation.

The fame of generations of *nattuwanar* was enhanced by their brilliant pupils, mostly *Devakanikas* (sanskrit : *Ganika*) or *Dēvadāsīs*. The *Sarvadeśavilāsa*²¹ written in the beginning of the 19th century gives the names of contemporary celebrities. Later Vīna Dhanam, 'Dhanakōti sisters,' Tāyī of Coimbatore, Godāvārī of Salem, Nāgaratnam of Bangalore and Ponnammāl of Ettayapuram left the impress of their genius on the art.

It cannot be denied that the Devadāsī system led to some serious abuses. There was a school of thought which refused to subscribe to the termination of the system and pleaded for internal reforms through propaganda and other curative measures. A vociferous section demanded its abolition, and sage heads nodded assent. And along with the system disappeared many

20. An old family of *nattuwanars* renowned for generations in Tirugokarnam (Pudukkottai) is now represented by Mṛdaṅgam Ranganāyaki, her sister Subbalakshmi and brother, the violinist Olaganathan.

21. Edited by Dr. V. Raghayan and published in Adyar,

precious art traditions: It is to the credit of Bālasarasvati, a pupil of Kandappa Nattuvanār, Varalakshmi of Kumbakonam and Gaurī of Mylapore that they kept alive the torch of tradition. Kukminī Devī, born in a family famous for culture and learning, brought to bear on the work of restoring the traditions of art her innate talents coupled with her prestige and influence as leader of an international organization. In her exhibitions of dance she transcended all personal instincts and rose to the height of *rasanubhava*, transmitting what she experiences to her audience. Her *Kalakshetra* has a place in the history of cultural renaissance in the land; and has already given to Tamilnād Rādhā and Śārādā. The renown of Mrinalinī Sarabhai and Śānthā as 'consciencious nāṭya artistes' gifted with a talent for enriching and embellishing their art, have helped considerably the movement for art revival. Padminī and Rāgini of Travancore and Kamalā Lakshman had their training under the sons of Minakshi Sundaram Pillai; one of them Chokkalingam, trained Kausalyā, Kalyāna Sundara Valli and artistes from Orissa, Bengal, Bombay and from distant New York. These gifted artistes are other torch-bearers. E. Krishna Iyer of Brahmadesam, who had his training in *Bharatanāṭya* under Nāṭyāchārya Melattūr Natesa Iyer founded and nurtured two leading institutions in Madras and has to his credit the resuscitation of Folk Dances and Music, which, due to long neglect, were in danger of extinction. He conducted two folk dance festivals and some of his artistes have since performed in New Delhi. P. S. Sarngapani Aiyangar, founded with the help of Chokkalingam the Institute of Fine Arts to give training in dancing. P. Sambāmurti and V. Raghavan occupants of the chairs in music and Sanskrit respectively in the University of Madras are carrying on untiring propaganda through books and monographs to elevate the taste of the *sahṛdayas*—a task in which they are receiving considerable support from several organizations, the press in Madras and the All India Radio. Music and Dance have founded a place in the educational syllabus. There is a demand for starting more schools to train teachers and for the production of documentary films. Without 'dedicating' girls to temples, the talents of artistes may well be utilized occasionally to restore dance, at least partially in the items of temple worship, specially during festivals. The Hindu Religious Endowment Board will find this helpful in their drive to restore and conserve the healthy traditions of temple worship. The

Institute of Traditional Cultures in S. E. Asia Madras has since 1957, been conducting Seminars and editing Bulletins which give promise of yeoman service to Art including Dance by collecting and disseminating information on the arts and artistes, among other things.

We are repeatedly reminded that having lost the patronage of princes and nobles, art now seeks the support of the people; this has become almost a *cliche*. And under these changed circumstances, two dangers in particular, have to be guarded against. Art forms should not be considered as so many museum pieces to preserve and admire; art should enter into our life and invigorate and enrich it. While training girls, care should be taken that callisthenics, jerky gestures and stuccato singing are not passed off as dance. The lead in demonstrating how improvisations and borrowings can enrich the content of the art without impairing its *svabhava* given by Rukmini Devi and Mrinalini Sarabhai should be hearkened to. Above all there should be in us the consciousness that music and dance embody our traditions and are interwoven with the fabric of our religion, ethics and philosophy, no less than that of our aesthetic and social ideals.

The Religion and Philosophy of the Bhagavad Gītā

(*The Philosophy and Religion for our time*)

BY

DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.LITT.,
(*Tagore Professor of Humanities, University of Madras*)

The Bhagavat Gītā is not only a revered Hindu scripture, but is a book of Universal wisdom. It sets forth a way of life and a view of Reality acceptable to us all who are children of reason and science. It is neither old nor new, it is eternal. It is a version of the perennial, eternal law (*śaśvata-dharma-goptā*). Its influence on the minds of men is second to none. It is enshrined in the *Bhīṣma-parva* of the great Epic *Mahābhārata*: "It is a little shrine in a vast temple, a temple that is both a theatre and a fair of this world." It is one of the triple source books of the Vedānta philosophy, the living religion of the Hindus.

A glance at the opinions expressed by the ancient sages and modern savants describes to us the glory of this gospel. It is delivered by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna, "The close companion, representative man and the chosen instrument of the Lord."

In the year 1785 Charles Wilkins translated the Gītā into English, and Warren Hastings the first Governor General writes prien the face to the volume: "that works like the Bhagavad Gītā will survive the British dominion in India, shall have long ceased to exist and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance."

Emerson the American Transcendentalist on reading the Gītā writes: "It was the first book I read where as if an empire spoke to us; nothing small or unworthy, large, consistent in its voice of an intelligence which another age and climate had

pondered and thus disposed of the same questions that concern us."

The German critic William Von Humboldt writes, "the Gītā is the most beautiful, perhaps the only true philosophical song existing in any known tongue." After reading the book he wrote to his statesman friend Frederic Von Gentz, "I read the Indian poem for the first time, when I was in my country estate in Silesia and while doing so I felt a sense of overwhelming gratitude to God for having let me live to be acquainted with this work. It must be the most profound and sublime thing to be found in the world."

John Eglinton in his Memoirs of George Russel writes: "Goethe, Wordsworth, Emerson and Thoreau among the moderns have something of this vitality and wisdom, but we can find all they have said and much more in the grand 'Sacred Books of the East.' The Bhagavat Gītā and the Upanisads contain such God-like fulness of wisdom on all things that I feel the authors must have looked with calm remembrance back through a thousand passionate lives full of feverish strife for and with Shadows, ere they could have written with such certainty of things which the soul feels to be true."

Professor Edgerton admires the poetic expressiveness of the Gītā. "The pithy *anuṣṭubh* verses, the flow of the lines, the similies and metaphors—these give it a form, the interest of which cannot be had in any dry analytical philosophical disquisition. It is the best introduction to Indian thought and culture. Its language is full of grace and vitality." The fervent Christian missionary Rev. Farquhar observes: "that there are few poems worthy of comparison in point of general interest or of practical influence with the Bhagavad Gītā."

Praising the tolerant, universal, humanistic and spiritual slant of the Gītā, Aldous Huxley observes: "The Gītā is one of the most comprehensive and clearest summaries of perennial philosophy ever to have been made, hence its enduring value is not only for Indians but for all mankind."¹

1. Bhagavad Gītā — a song of God translated by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood (Introduction) 1945.

Śrī Śaṅkara regards the Gītā as the essence of the teachings of all the Vedas. He adds, "read and sing the Gītā, what need is there for any other scripture!"²

A popular verse compares the Upaniṣads to cows, and Kṛṣṇa to the milk-man, Arjuna to the calf, the Gītā to the milk and the good and wise men as the part-takers of the milk.³

In the prose-classic of Bāṇa's KĀDAMBARI, it is mentioned that men attained happiness by the recitation of the Gītā. In Kalhana's Rājataranginī, it is recorded that King Avantivarman had the Gītā read out to him in his last hours. The glory of Gītā is described in glowing terms in the Varāha and Skāndapurāṇas. Alberuni in his Indica quotes from the Gītā about twenty times. From this we gather that this Muslim writer was so fascinated by the Gītā, that he was perhaps the first to introduce it, to the Muslim world. Later Abul Fazil and Faizi rendered it into prose and verse in Persian.⁴

In our century, the late Lokamānya B. G. Tilak was the greatest resuscitator of this gospel of our country. He translated the Gītā in prison and preached the dynamic message of *activism*. He observes: "the Gītā is the most luminous and priceless gem. It gives peace to the afflicted souls, it makes us masters of spiritual wisdom; in short in all the languages of the world there is not a single book like the Gītā which can acquaint us so well with the hidden truth of the ages. It beautifully harmonises the philosophy of action, devotion and knowledge. It can easily be said to be immortal fruit of the tree of the Eternal Vedic Religion."⁵

Mahatma Gandhi regards the Gītā as his spiritual mother: His commentary on the Gītā, *Anāsakti Yoga* is presented to us, with a profound and touching introduction by Mahadev Desai

2. Gītāśāstram samastavedārtha sara sangrahabhūtam. Bhagavadgītā kinchit adhitā Gita Sugita kartavyā kim anyaiḥ S'āstravistaraiḥ Śrī Madhva refers to it as Mahābhāratapārijātamadhurabhūtam.

3. Sarvopanishadō gāvah dōgdhā gōpālanandanah |
Pārthō vatsah sudhirbhōktā dugdham gītāmṛtam mahat ||

4. See Dr. V. Raghavan's articles in *Vedānti Kesari* August and October 1950.

5. B. G. Tilak - *Gītārahasya* (English translation) Volume .I, 1935

in his book, "*Gītā, According to Gandhiji*". Gandhiji writes—"I lost my earthy mother who gave me birth long ago, but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed. She has never failed me. When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom—I can declare that the Gītā is ever presenting me with fresh lessons, and if somebody tells me that it is my delusion, my reply to him would be, I should hug this delusion as my richest treasure".

In another place Gandhiji sums up the message of the Gītā : "It inculcates in us the duty of perseverance in the face of seeming failures. It teaches us that we have right to action only, but not to the fruits thereof, and that success and failure are one and the same at bottom. It calls upon us to dedicate ourselves body, mind and soul, to pure duty and not become mental voluptuaries at the mercy of chance desires and undisciplined impulses." ⁶

Sri Aurobindo extols the message of the Gītā : "Its teaching is universal. Whatever may have been its origins, its language and structure and combination and balancing of ideas belong neither to the temper of the sectarian teachers or to the spirit of a rigorous dogmatist. It is an undulating, encircling movement of ideas which is the manifestation of a synthesis of Indian Culture." In his work on the *Synthesis of the Yoga*, he summarises the message of the Gītā : "The greatest gospel of spiritual works ever yet given to the human race, the most perfect system of *Karmayoga* known to man in the past is to be found in the Bhagavad Gītā. In this famous episode of the Mahābhārata, the great basic lines of *Karmayoga* are laid for all times with incomparable mastery and the infallible eye of an assured experience. It aims at the secret of dynamic and not only static identity with the inner presence."

Dr. Radhakrishnan in his introduction to the Gītā observes : "It is set forth as a tradition which has emerged from the religious

6. Mahadev Desai, *The Gītā according to Gandhiji* (1946) see the Introduction and also *Gītā the Mother* by Gandhiji.

7. Sri Aurobindo : *Essays on the Gita*, p. 19.

life of mankind. It is articulated by a profound seer who sees truth in its many sidedness and believes in its saving power. It represents not any sect of Hinduism but Hinduism as a whole, not merely Hinduism but religion as such, in its universality, without limit of time or space embracing within its synthesis the whole gamut of human spirit from the crude fetishism of the savage to the creative affirmations of the saint.”⁸

In his Indian Philosophy, he instructively warns us not to take the historical context of the poem literally. “As the dialogue proceeds, the dramatic element disappears. The echoes of the battle field die away and we have only an interview between God and man. The chariot of war becomes the lonely cell of meditation and a corner of the battle field where the voices of the world are stilled a fit place for thoughts on the supreme.”⁹ Professor Mascaro writes that the Gītā seeks to achieve not only analytical *exactitude*, but is also unmatched for its poetic expressiveness.¹⁰

Kenneth Walker records the advice he received from a friend : “Have you ever read the Bhagavad Gītā?” the friend asked. “A long time ago”, “but I cannot say that I got very much out of it” replied Dr. Walker. Then “read it again” said the friend, “for, it is one of the three or four great books of the world”. I have been working at psychology for more than ten years now, and I can only tell you that, in my opinion, the Bhagavad Gītā contains more true psychology than the whole libraries of modern treatises”. “The Gītā is a book of Light and Love for Life”.

This mighty religious scripture situated in the substantial sacred Epic of Hindu religious tradition is considered as a living authority on questions dealing with the reality and activity of God, man and his destiny, and the way to attain

8. S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavat Gītā* (with an introductory Essay, Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes) (1948) p. 12.

9. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*. Vol. I, p. 521 (1923).

10. *The Bhagavat Gītā* (a New Translation) by Julian Mascaro (Penguin Edition) 1962, See Introduction, pp. 9 to 36.

it. It also shows the way to develop all that is potentially good in man and to avert the demonic nature in man. It is a book which teaches us the art of schooling ourselves to achieve our highest. It is a science and art of spiritual life. The power of the Gītā is not confined to explain the mysteries of life in clear-cut rational terms. It is far more concerned to awaken in man a wonderful new and intimate sense of our nature and what is wrong with us. It reveals to us something of ourselves and what we can do about it.

The book combines clear vision, splendid persuasive powers of argumentation, sincere feeling and amazing knowledge of human psychology and lucid poetic expression. Our reading and pondering over its meaning and its message rings in peace and harmony, helps us to shed fear, and imparts courage to all. Its imperatives are practical and help us to live right and love all. If we do not relate the teaching of the scripture to life, it ceases to influence us. Mere recitations through ages has tended in some minds to a kind of "reverential insensibility, a stupor of the spirit and an inward deafness." A greater and more ardent attempt is nowhere made to unite philosophy into practical religion and to bring the individual and the universal into a personal relationship with God. Its deep religious fervour and ethical earnestness lifts it above all sectarianism and supplies spiritual nourishment to all. It is the vital synthesis of Indian genius.

The study of Bhagavada Gītā is undertaken with different motives and hence there are many approaches to the scripture. Some are interested in the text of the Gītā and have worked to get at a Vulgate edition of the text, and sought to sort out the interpretations and variations in reading. This is the critical approach of the Indologist. There is the *sanctum* approach to the scripture which looks upon the Gītā as the source book of Vedānta, embodying a definite, coherent and self-consistent school of philosophy. That is the approach of the ancient *ācāryas*, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhwa and others. Each *ācārya* strives his best to interpret the scripture to suit his doctrines. This has led to the straining of many verses to force them to yield a system. Such an approach is the scholastic way. It had led to polemics and philosophical controversy. Many modern savants find in the

Gita their solace. They look upon it as an universal forum giving men guide lines for spiritual evolution and for the reconstruction of society, in the image of justice and love. Its religion, psychology and ethics are looked upon as eminently suitable to us children of science and reason. This is my approach to the scripture. The poem has a symbolic value and presents the predicament of modern man in the personality of Arjuna's crisis. The dialogue form between India's two fascinating figures, and the occasion of the poem have all given the message of the gospel great topicality.¹¹

Modern man in spite of his immense knowledge and astounding powers of organisation is still far from social peace or individual happiness. He is stricken by psychic anxiety, cloven by emotional conflicts, beset by economic insecurities and assailed by political doubts, and hence knows not his duties.

In the face of gross injustice, Ārjuna, the great warrior, who knows his duty, his prowess, the justice of his cause, falters and wants to run away from the path of duty, because of sentimental feelings. He says that he is in great sorrow, that he would not see the death of his cousins. The ghastly immediate consequence of blood-shed and the death of his cousins unnerved him. He came to the battlefield to punish his wicked cousins who robbed him of his kingdom, banished him into the [forest] for thirteen years and treacherously refused to redeem their pledge to give back even a part of the kingdom. He is upset at the possibility of a fratricidal war, so he puts on the role of a sanyasin and trots out arguments in favour of peace and a life of renunciation. His pseudo pacifism is foreign to him. He cries out : " Alas, what a great sin have we resolved to commit in striving to slay our own people, through our greed for the pleasures of the kingdom ; far better would it be, for me, if the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra with weapons in hand should slay me in the battle, while I remain unresisting and unarmed ".¹² Arjuna dreads to do his duty, and so he

11. S. S. Raghavachar, *Śrī Rāmānuja on the Gītā* (1969) Introduction pages I to VIII.

12. B. G. I. 55.

invents arguments to give it up. He seeks escape in inaction. His failure is felt in his limbs. They quail, he perspires, his mind and gait are reeling. He becomes unsteady and drowned in sorrow.¹³ He seeks a way out of the crisis by taking refuge in the Lord, by putting himself in the place of the disciple in distress who seeks instruction. We are all like Arjuna. He is our representative. The message of Gītā is for all of us.

The concept of the human personality and destiny described by the Gītā is comprehensive and catholic. The way outlined for the development is concrete and is in tune with the psychology of man. These factors have made the Gītā a manual for spiritual life.

The unregenerate human being's behaviour is not his essential nature. Man is not a body plus a mind ; he is not an automaton, complex in structure. He is not even an organism, as the fashionable biologist describes him. He is essentially a person, a spirit who uses both. The Gītā asks us not to interpret men endocrinologically, behaviouristically, psychoanalytically or in terms of a machine. He is not merely a rational, political social animal, but is essentially spiritual. This fact is ignored by the exponents of our sensate culture, who over-simplify the nature of man and interpret him in terms of a single dimension. This line of interpretation is rationalised in the different philosophical theories, eg., Hedonism, Materialism, Marxism and Psychoanalysis.

The one dimension theory of human nature describes the aim of life as the sum of the successive satisfactions of desires. The goal of life is the maximum pleasure or the balance of pleasure over pain. The truth about human personality is, we have a self deeper than the biological and physical aspects of our life. Religion and spiritual experience enable us to realise "what we have in us to be". We have to transcend the physical and the biological in us and not negate or extinguish them. We must not exterminate our impulses, instincts, drives, emotions, passions and longings. We have to train them and not hush them. We must sublimate them not

13. *Ibid* I. 29.

suppress them, we must not hush them into the unconsciousness, but must harness them to the central purpose of the development of our spiritual personality. The physical basis of our personality is necessary. The Kāṭha Upaniṣad compares the human being to a chariot.¹⁴ The charioteer must not unyoke the horses, then he will not reach his destination. He must drive the horses well, yoke them, use his spurs discriminatingly, must know when to let in and when to hold back. In short the Gītā asks us to develop self-control. It is called *ātma samyama yoga*. We are asked to perform the sacrifice of self-control kindled by knowledge.

Self-control is the first step necessary for the integration of human personality. It is the root of all virtues. It is the antidote for the routine and repetitive impulsive action. The sense organs of man have each a natural function. They are governed by the mind. Each sense discharges its duties. The eye cannot choose but see. We cannot bid the ear to be still. Our bodies feel whatever they be against or with our will. We cannot kill it. It describes the working of the senses. The senses are so constituted, that they disperse our energy and flow out obeying the natural law of the 'pleasure-principle'.¹⁵ Nature helps the impulses to cling on to objects. Any interference with the life of impulses is painful. The voice of reason is not heard because of the sway of emotions. Hence, the necessity for a deliberate conscious control of the senses. Passion and prejudice are always able to mobilize their forces more rapidly and press the attack with greater force than the voice of reason or the wisdom of the seers. Sometimes the voice of self-interest may launch a counter attack and win the day for a short while. Reason is the 'slave of passion' said Hume.

The senses are the chief sources of man's pleasure and pain. The Gītā repeatedly asks the aspirant to bring them under the control of a governable mind. "The senses carry off the understanding as a gale carries away a ship on water". The

14. *Kāthopaniṣad*, I-iii, 3.

15. *Kāṭha Upaniṣad*, II.

immoderate and uncontrolled indulgence of senses leads to passion. "Desire and wrath spring from passion. Passion is the master sin devouring all. Passion envelops knowledge. It is the perpetual foe of the wise. It has its seat in the senses, mind and understanding. Its operation veils wisdom and deludes the soul of man". Arjuna is exhorted as the first step to control the senses from the beginning and slay the foes that destroy knowledge and wisdom.¹⁶

Without self-control there can be no integration with one's own self. One cannot live in peace with ones own self, unless the divisions in the self, conflicts in the mind and the aching of the heart for unity and harmony are overcome.¹⁷

'Yoga' is the term of general significance in Indian thought. It is not any one discipline, but it is the name for all spiritual *sādhana*s. In our anxiety to sell yoga, we should not dilute it or soft pedal its emphasis on self-control and ethical life. It is not just a system of body postures as described by many, nor is it the renunciation of the idle as imagined by some. It is not the fad of the physical culturist. "It is not one set of discipline but a large term in the framework of self-development, permitting adaptations and modifications to suit the equipment and nature of individuals."

To achieve singleness of mind, we require constant practice. It is practice with patience that can give us a strong will. Ascetic repression and violent suppression of the working of the senses do not help us. Through dispassion and constant practice we get graded control of the senses. Violent repression destroys the self. We need constant endeavour. It is not easy to control or curb the restless mind. Kṛṣṇa admits Arjuna's submission to him about the difficulty in controlling the mind. But he suggests constant endeavour. The yogi must go about his job strongly, little by little with a steadfast purpose, with determination and an untiring mind. He must achieve dispassion with his keen sense of values. To practice control without dispassion is

16. B. G. III, 41.

17. *Asāntasya kutah sukham.*

dangerous.¹⁸ It will not be effective. The feeling for renunciation results also from devotion to the Lord and not merely from self-effort. Devotion to the Lord is necessary. Complete devotion to the Lord weans us away from all other alignments. Hence, Nārada in the Bhakti Sūtra says that 'anurāgāt virāgaḥ'. For the devotee it becomes easy to practise self-control and dispassion. Hence, the Gītā puts devotion along with self-effort as a primary means for controlling passions. The ideal man of the Gītā, the man of "steadfast wisdom" practises devotion.¹⁹

The Gītā ideal of human personality has for its basis the concept of guṇas. The doctrine of guṇas constitutes the foundation for the study of human personality types. The entire XIVth, chapter is devoted to the study of the guṇas. The entire system of animate and inanimate nature is woven out of the strands of the three guṇas *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. They constitute Prakṛti. The author of the Gītā declares: "That there is not an entity either on earth or in heaven, that is free from the qualities of Prakṛti". Prakṛti is the powerful force that impels all men to action even of the learned. The importance of Prakṛti is admitted in every walk of life.²⁰ The entire psychophysical activities of man are viewed under the framework of three guṇas. The triadic classification is applied to all our activities, e.g., faith, food, sacrifice, penance, gift, knowledge, agent, intelligence, courage, joy etc.

The norm set up for the development of spiritual life is the cultivation of the *sattvic* in us. The *sattva* in us unfolds itself only by a life of strenuous discipline and devotion. This is not capable of being achieved in one life. Hence, the faith in transmigration and rebirth. Further, the effort made in one life does not perish at death. It is carried over and determines the nature of the subsequent birth. The series of births give us opportunities to carry out our unfinished moral effort cut short by death. The faith in karma and rebirth takes away the

18. B. G. VI, 25, 34, 35.

19. B. G. II, 61; VI 47.

20. B. G. III, 33.

horror and nihilism associated with death. Sattva is responsible for lightness and illumination of things in nature. It brings the best in us. Hence the exhortation to bring about the emergence of sattva (sattvodreka).

Rajas is the source of all activity. Tamas is the power of nature that is responsible for anything that resists and obstructs. It is the cause of inertia. The guṇās are in all things and persons in diverse measures. We distinguish the guṇās on the basis of their effect.

To achieve self integration (*ātma samyama*) one has to work for it hard, with an impregnable will, and determined effort grounded in absolute faith in God. Without integration, we can never achieve one pointedness (*ekagra chitta*). In the absence of integration conflict will rage wildly in the mind of man. The impetuous senses will carry one away to the ends of the world. For the uncontrolled there is no power of concentration, and for him there is no peace; for the unpeaceful how can there be happiness".²¹ Self-integration must proceed by steps and not all at once.

The genius of Gītā is seen in its concrete and detailed suggestions, put forth for the aspirant. He is told as to the kind of Sāttvic food he should take. He is asked 'to choose a clean place to live and cultivate calmness of mind, fearlessness and continence, to avoid relish for crowds'. One is asked to avoid extreme over-indulgence or ascetic starvation. "Integration is not for him who eats too much, nor for him who eats too little. It is not for him who sleeps too much, not for him who keeps vigil too long. It is for the man who is temperate in his food and recreation, who is restrained in all his actions, and who has regulated his sleep and vigils. Integration (Yoga) puts an end to all sorrows".²²

For integration self-effort is not enough though it is indispensable. A celebrated verse of the Gītā declares and affirms its unconquerable faith in the power of man's capacity and free

21. B. G. II-67.

22. B. G. VI-16; 17.

will to pull himself up and be on the right track. "Let man raise himself by his own self, let him not debase himself. For he himself is the friend of himself; but he who has not conquered himself is hostile to himself as a foe".²³ Self-conquest is the first step for (*ātma samyama*) self-integration.

The spiritual aspirant is essentially a social being. He lives and has his development through his interactions with his fellow-men. He cannot live apart from them. His individuality has to blossom into a perfect personality by a process of morality induced through socialisation. He has to live in peace with fellowmen. The integration which he seeks to effect in himself is affected by his attitude to others and other's love for him. He has to grow with them. Hence, the necessity for integration with fellowmen. The Gītā ethics is at once individualistic and altruistic. It does not look upon man as a discrete atom in a mechanical structure called society. Man is not a mere organism, and society an organic structure as fondly believed by the biologists. The Gītā flatly denies this and affirms with Macmurray: "We are persons and not organisms. We have a will of our own not merely to adapt to nature, but also manipulate nature to our needs. To interpret man in terms of organic categories is not fair".

The integration of man with his self must be perfect, natural and not involve strain or tension. The Gītā has given us memorable images of the integrated yogin. There cannot be an image of vastness and fullness nobler than the ocean to compare the man of integrated life, "into whose life enters all desires as the waters enter a sea, which though ever filled, remains within its bounds".²⁴ He is the awakened (buddha).²⁵ In the words of Gītā, "what is night for all beings, therein the disciplined is awake and wherein all beings are awake that is night for the yogi." The mind of the integrated man is "like a lamp which flickers not, in a place sheltered from the wind".²⁶ The perfect mastery of the

23. B. G. VI 5 ; 6.

24. B. G. II 70.

25. B. G. II 69.

26. B. G. VI 19.

integrated being over his senses is as easy, as natural as the control to a tortoise over its limbs.²⁷ The perfect detachment of the yogin and his unaffectedness is likened to the contact of the lotus leaf and the water.²⁸

The spiritual aspirant of the *Gītā* is a humanist. He is not an escapist, who wants to run away from the social agonies of his fellow-men seeking individual salvation by running to mountain tops and monasteries. He accepts life as a challenge and seeks to answer it. Life is not a problem to him, it is a challenge and an opportunity for perfecting himself. He has faith in ultimate Reality and the goodness of man. The *Gītā* declares him a yogin "who worships the Lord abiding in all beings and who looks upon all as himself in pleasure or pain". All the activities of the aspirant are Godcentred. He acts and lives in the constant presence of God. Theocentric Humanism is the practice of the presence of God in all our activities and the dedication of all acts to him.

Thought is always parent to the act. Any type of thought, if entertrained for a sufficient length of time, will by and by reach the motor tracts of the brain and burst forth into action. It is no good dallying with a bad thought. We must put out that thought at once. We grow into the likeness of those things we contemplate; as man thinketh in his heart, so is he.²⁹

The yogin has to acquire *jñāna*. The simplest meaning of the term *jñāna* is mere knowledge. But that is not the *Gītā* meaning of the term *jñāna*. It comprises quite a number of intellectual and ethical virtues, "absence of conceit, pride and vanity; forgiveness, sincerity, reverence for the teacher, purity, steadfastness, self-control, dispassion for sensual objects, renunciation, absence of egoism, knowledge of the transient nature of man's life, unflinching devotion to the Lord, love of solitude and love of scriptures."³⁰ The devotee's love of God is not of the nature of

27. B. G. II 57.

28. B. G. V 10, VI 8.

29. B. G. II 62.

30. B. G. XIII 7-12.

blind, unreasoned infatuation, for it is the love of the perfect and the infinite. It never disappoints, or falls short of expectations. The devotee's love of the Lord is the knowledge-love. It has for its grounds the knowledge of the infinite auspicious qualities of the Lord. It is not *moha* or blind love born out of passion. It is the desire to place ourselves in the hands of the best. The *bhakti* of the Gītā is not the confused, lazy or sentimental effusion or escapism. It is the love of the lovable; and the adoration of the Supreme in the complete faith that one will be saved. The Bhakta is not one who lives as he likes. He has to pass through severe self-discipline, must shed his selfish motives and live a theocentric life. He is not a visionary lost in the contemplation of the Lord, indifferent to all around him. The humanistic qualities of the *bhakta* are described in glowing terms in the concluding verses of the XIIth chapter of the Gītā. The Bhakta is not indifferent to his neighbours. He desires the good of all (*sarva bhūta hite ratah*). The insistence on acquiring ceremonial purity and perfect self-control resulting in a governable mind is the first step. The yogin must integrate his life with others, his fellowmen. He must have the community sense and realise the divine nature of all men and respect them equally. Integration with fellowmen is possible only by leading an ethical and selfless life. Action must aim at *loka samgraha* (good of the world) and must have the good of all at the heart (*sarvabhūta hite ratah*). The Gītā advocates the celebrated doctrine of *sva-dharma* for scrupulous adoption by man. It is an unique doctrine based on the psychology of man and makes for an efficient society. If we want an efficient society and splendid individuals, we should press into service the doctrine of *sva-dharma*.

Svadharma does not imply *jāti dharma* (caste-duties). It is a psychological view of the concept of duty. Nature has gone into endless diversity and no two men are alike. Men can grow to their best in different ways. It is foolish to press all men in a single file and put them into a single Procrustean bed. Each must undertake the duty that does not go against his *grain*. One must act according to one's temper and training. The concept of *svadharma* is a powerful corrective to social waste. It saves us from

individual mal-adjustments. We get over the difficulty of the placement of the square men in round holes. Svadharma enables men to perform their own duties efficiently, gracefully, spontaneously and with ease. The author of the Gītā is of the firm opinion that the path of Svadharma leads the individual to salvation. Treading the path of Svadharma is described as the most effective form of worship for liberation. Svadharma spells concord. It brings about a social order, where all are not equal but all equally necessary, where all work is divine. It promotes the mutual aid and co-operative instinct in men and lessens tensions and strife.

The yogin of the Gītā, lives a full life not apart from the world but unattached. He lives a life of perfect self-control. He sings with Tennyson, that "self reverence, self-knowelage, self-control, these three alone lead life to sovereign power". He would only object to word 'alone' and add love of God in its place. He finds his freedom in action and not from action. He is not bitter to life's denials. He does not invoke self-pity. He is in harmony with creation. He does not see things through the mists of passion and jealousy. He lives 'practising the presence of God' in all.

The conception of society envisaged by the Gītā is largely democratic. It lays great stress on the liberty and freedom of human will, to overcome obstacles to achieve its ideals. Faith in the unconquerable goodness and the ultimate triumph of the good cause are the fundamental notes in the message of the Gītā. It never belittles human responsibility in order to glorify the Lord. The glory of the Lord, is that he has endowed man with a free will, and has enabled him to choose the good in the presence of evil by his effort. "Man is an indeterminate" in the words of Bergson. The omnipotence and the glory of the Lord are not incompatible with human freedom.

Bondage, according to the Gītā, is the result primarily of man's 'assertion of his autonomy' and the consequent unrestrained exercise of his free-will for the gratification of his sensate and physical desires and ambitions. It is the arrogant

assertion that man is the captain of his ship and the master of his fate. It is the denial of the existence of God, together with the denial of the moral law, Dharma. It is this egoistic expression of man's powers that is responsible for his bondage and sinful acts. This is no doubt, another name for man's servitude to the three Guṇas.

Mokṣa is the state of existence in which all our doubts and disbeliefs are dissolved, and all our tensions and strifes are overcome for ever. To attain this we are asked to rise above the sway of the three guṇas. The ideal man of the Gītā is described in four places under different captions: *Sthitaprajña*, *Yogarūda*, *Bhakta*, and *Gunātīta*. In all these descriptions what is common is the insistence on the necessity of transcending the pressure and the sway of the Guṇas.

It is the sway of the Guṇas that tosses us in *Samsāra* and also blurs and blinds our vision of the Divine. It is again the sway of the Guṇas that makes man feel autonomous and assert arrogantly: "This I have gained today, and that longing will I fulfil. This wealth is mine and that also shall be mine hereafter. This foe I have slain and others too I shall slay. I am the Lord of all and I enjoy myself. I am prosperous, mighty and happy. I am rich and of high birth. Who is there like unto me? I will perform sacrifices and I will give alms. I will rejoice"³¹

The Gītā declares that men, caught in the meshes of such delusion, self-conceited, stubborn, filled with haughtiness, purse-proud, utterly disregard all rules, and hate God and fellow-men. The unrestricted anti-social use of one's freedom is bondage. Arjuna is told by Sri Kṛṣṇa, "If indulging in self-conceit, you think 'I will not fight' that resolution of yours is in vain".³²

How to overcome and transcend the sway and influence of the three Guṇas, is the aspirant's chief concern. The stoic and the free-thinker exhort men to pull themselves through their bootstraps. They ask people to practise unremitting self-effort and

31. B. G. XVI 6 to 20 verses,

32. Ibid XVIII 59,

detachment to overcome their mean motives and humiliating weaknesses. Psycho-somatic training is outlined by Patanjali in his Yoga Sūtras. Buddhism and Jainism speak of a self-culture and do not indent on God.

The transcendence of the realm of Guṇās is not exclusively and entirely left to our self-effort according to the Gītā and the Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Gītā persistently and impressively suggests that 'devotion to the Lord' and 'faith in His grace' are absolutely necessary to overcome the influence of the Guṇās and to be liberated from their sway. Devotion is the key open to all. The Gītā suggests directly and pervasively, devotion as the only method that is within the reach of all. It glorifies its supremacy and elaborates its effective power for securing mokṣa. Mere rationality and self-effort, unaided by Grace, cannot help us to secure mokṣa from the triple nature of Prakṛti.

In the second chapter, in describing the characteristics of the *Sthitaprajña*, the Lord does not fail to point out that the man of steadfast wisdom is not a mere stoic. He says "The aspirant should control all his senses and remain steadfast and devoted to Me". Gandhiji draws pointed attention to 'devotion' in the above verse. Again in the tenth chapter the Lord declares: "On those devotees that are ever devoted to Me and worship Me in love, I bestow the Knowledge by which they come to Me. Out of compassion for them I, dwelling in their hearts, dispel the darkness born of ignorance by the shining lamp of wisdom".³³

Devotion works in a double way. It helps us to overcome the temptations of the flesh as well as the tyranny of Prakṛti which binds us to *Samsāra*. Speaking about devotion, Sri Kṛṣṇa reiterates its importance. "By devotion one knows Me in reality, what I am and who I am, then having known Me in truth, he forthwith enters into Me.....Having found refuge in Me, he reaches, by My grace, the eternal, indestructible state (Moksha)... Therefore, mentally surrendering all actions to Me, regarding Me as the Supreme and taking refuge in Me, fix thy thoughts on Me.....By fixing thy thoughts on Me, thou shalt surmount every

difficulty by My grace" "Fly to Me for shelter with all thy soul. O Bharata; by My grace shalt thou gain supreme peace and everlasting abode".³⁴

In conclusion, the Lord says: "Surrendering all duties, come to Me alone for shelter. Do not grieve for I will release thee from all sins". Referring to this verse, Sri Aurobindo observes: "It is the crowning word. It is not merely the essence of what has been said on the subject; it sweeps out, as it were, yet farther breaks down every limit and rule, canon and formula, and opens into a vivid, wide and illimitable, spiritual truth with an immense significance"

Devotion to the Lord alone clears our mind of care, and with the onset of Grace we no longer see things through the mist of passion. "The māyā of Prakṛiti", the Lord declares, "can be overcome only by His grace". Hence it is maintained by all the theistic interpreters of the Gītā, that Bondage is due to atheism and lack of faith in God. It can be overcome by devotion. Śrī Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna, after granting the grand vision: "By devotion to Me alone may I be known truly, seen and entered into"

Devotion and self-surrender are described in the ninth chapter of the Gītā as king of the sciences, easy, pleasant and yielding mokṣa. God-love can be done in any way. Nothing is lost in it. Even a little, the Gītā says, carries you a great way. The imperfect and unfinished efforts of spiritual life are not wasted for they bear fruit in the subsequent lives and gives the necessary atmosphere to complete our spiritual quest. The least that a man can do is to put himself in the hands of the best, i.e. God.

In the history of Indian thought two ways of spiritual realisation have been preached, one is the way of complete renunciation i.e., the giving up of all works. The only thing that we can do is to get out of life. We must keep ourselves free from the stain of action. The world is a snare, it is a nightmare, we can only wake up. Any type of action we produce results in things that bind us to *samsāra*. Action forges chains and binds us for ever. So let

us renounce all action. The Gītā is opposed to such a renunciation of works.

The positive view of life is called the *pravṛtti marga* which makes men live an active life for securing the material and other goods. In the words of Professor Hirianna, the Gītā has discovered the golden mean between the two opposing ideals. "It preserves the excellence of both the methods. While it does not abandon activity, it preserves the spirit of renunciation. It commends a strenuous life, and yet gives no room for the play of selfish impulses."³⁵ The ideal of *Karma Yoga* keeps the spirit of renunciation and combines it with life of ceaseless activity. This ideal is given wide and permanent currency by the Gītā. The Gītā has focussed this practical teaching in its splendidly devised setting. The ideal is the central message of the Gītā according to all moderns—Tilak, Radhakrishnan, Aurobindo, Besant, Tagore, Vinobaji and Vivekananda.

The Karma Yoga ideal is in keeping with the biological and psychological nature of man. Activity is the very breath of human existence. Man cannot live even for a moment without action. Cosmic existence is based on dynamic activity. Act we must for keeping life and there is no escape from it. It is necessary for any social order. Not all action is Karma Yoga. Nor all giving up is renunciation. The Karma Yoga doctrine requires us to lead an active moral life and still escape the bondage that our actions normally forge for us. That is the secret of Karma Yoga. The active moral life of man is to be lived in a particular spirit. It is this spirit that quite paradoxically transmutes activity into a condition of freedom, from that of bondage.

Karma Yoga is not mechanical activity. It is not physical interaction. Nor is it the mere promptings of instinct, as in the animal world. It is not the egotistic activity of the so-called utilitarian, who acts on the pleasure principle. It is a yoga i.e., an activity which seeks God-Union by a definite method.

It] is not unconsidered action, nor vague speculation. It takes intellect into account. An enlightened understanding is the necessary preliminary for Karma Yoga. Further, the agent must act from a sense of duty and not from the desire for any particular fruit. He must not be obsessed by the idea of the result. This detachment is absolutely necessary for the yoga. It makes for equanimity and does not disturb us and makes for efficient action. It secures concentration and makes one-pointed attention possible. Besides, once the agent is not oppressed by the ideas of the fruits of action, there is no temptation or chance of his adopting any unscrupulous means to achieve his end.

Here it may be asked, what is it that serves as a motive for action in the doings of the Karma-Yogin? Motiveless action is psychologically impossible. The author of the Gītā does not deny all motives. He only denies selfish motives. The central motive that actuates the Karma yogin is the 'Love of God, i.e., Īśvara-prīti. He is a stoic who prides upon his sense of fortitude and powers of self-denial. The devotee renounces not only the desire for the fruit of the action, but also the sense of agency.

It is quite possible for men to be detached about the fruits of the action, but it is impossible to be rid of the sense of agency. It is in this effort, the Karma Yogin needs 'Devotion' and 'Surrender' to the Lord. Without a complete knowledge of the philosophical truths and the love of God, and an unreserved surrender to God, it is not possible for the yogin to give up his sense of agency and feel himself as an instrument of the Lord to do His will. Whatever may be the differences among the ancient commentators of the Gītā they are all agreed that the Gītā teaches all the yogas, karma, bhakti and jñāna. Modern commentators have shown that Bhakti and Jñāna are not exclusive of Karma-yoga. Bhakti grinds corns and leads the sick and attends on them.

The ethics and religion of the Bhagavat Gītā presents a way of life suited to all men. It is comprehensive and tolerant in its conception of Ultimate Reality and catholic in its methods of approach to the Lord. The Gītā flatly contradicts the doctrine of

the uni-personal manifestations of God. All manifestations are equally true and spiritual. Each perceives the spirit in his own way. The difference in the temper of men and the divergence in their outlooks and equipment accounts for the different pictures of Reality. The Lord declared : "Whatever form my devotee with faith wishes to worship, I make that faith of his steady".³⁶ The Gītā stands for a multiple approach to Reality suited to the needs of each, according to his temper. This doctrine makes for the Unity of religions and ensures the fellowship of faiths. The temple of the devotee is not confined to any chapel. It is larger than the house of worship of any sect. The author of the Gītā allows each to grow to his best in his own way from where he is. He does not ask all to work in a single file. The Gītā ideal of morality is within the reach of us all.

In short, the Gītā affirms the reality and validity of religious experience and man's imperative need for it. It presents unambiguously a comprehensive ideal of true religion. It gives in the very process a just and adequate estimate of other nostrums that compete for the place that truly belongs to spiritual religion. Its vision and tradition are larger than any of the schools.

Acharya Vinobha Bhave put it in a verse his view of Gītā : "*Brahma satyam jagat spurti jivanam satya sadhanam*" "Brahman is real, the world is a manifestation. Life is an experiment with truth". We are asked not to compromise with evil, nor give it quarter, or take flight from it, but face it in the spirit of a soldier-saint. The fundamental imperative of the Gītā is : "Yield not to unmanliness, O Arjuna, for it does not become thee : Cast off this faint-heartedness". This imperative is the most important one among the sixty commands in the Gītā which the Lord gives his disciples, not as a dictator but as an omniscient benefactor interested in setting right faltering humanity. The first and foremost injunction is a strong rebuke to all of us who falter out of weakness of trying to escape from duty by pseudo detachment and feigned arguments in favour of our inaction.

36. B. G. IV, 11 and VI, 21.

37. B. G. II, 3.

One has to stand up and fight for the right cause, with a pure motive, in a right manner and hold firm to righteousness. In the hour of crisis one must not sit with folded hands, and masquerade one's weakness and sentimentality as piety and love of peace. We must face the crisis in our life not by avoiding its issues or adopting another's way of life. We must encounter evil without being violent to our nature and yet transform life. The Gītā insists on our giving battle to the evil from where we are. Arjuna is the man who is deeply confused by his sentimental emotions. To him the Lord imparts clarity and light in the hour of darkness. The Gītā's stress on *svadharma* is unequivocal in its appreciation and in the denunciation of those who go against their nature and adopt other's *dharma* (*para dharma*).

The first imperative is dedicated to strengthening man from within and in bringing clarity, vigour and understanding to confused minds. The late Lokamanya Tilak saw in this the essence of the Gītā. All subsequent argumentation in the Gītā proves it. In the eleventh chapter again Kṛṣṇa exhorts Arjuna : "Therefore, arise and gain glory, conquering the foes, enjoy the prosperous kingdom." Again, he exhorts: "Fight, delivered from this fever (*yudhyasva vigata jvarah*"). The author of the Gītā asks us not to become victims of our weakness, doubts, indecisions and cowardice. Kṛṣṇa's imperative has a tremendous redeeming power. The precise order of the Lord asks us to banish 'weakness'. Swami Vivekananda exclaimed: "Know that all the sins and all evils can be summed up in that one word *"weakness"*. It is weakness that is the motive power in all evil-doing."

Religion is a force and a power, not mere form. It helps man in his effort to fight his lower tendencies (*vāsanās*) and to bring to the fore his potential goodness. The author of the Gītā asks us to live an active moral life. There is no freedom from action, but there is only "freedom in action". Action done in a spirit of dedication to the Lord, without desire for fruit, according to the behests of the scriptures, can liberate us. If we feel that the task of controlling the senses and following the path of *jñāna* (knowledge) is too difficult we are counselled to practice the art slowly step by step: It is not impossible.

Vinobaji observes: "How does one become a flute in Kṛṣṇa's hand?.....To be a flute means to become hollow.³⁸ But I am stuffed full with passions and desires. How then can music come through me? My tone is gruff. I am gross. I am filled with *ahamkāra* the sense of 'I'. I must empty myself of the ego. Only when I become empty, will the Lord breathe through me. It is the Bhakta that has the vision of God. The bhakta is protected on all planes: if there are difficulties they are warded off, if it is indigence, prosperity is ushered in, if ignorance, knowledge is imparted, if he seeks release from bondage, he is given mokṣa. To attain the Lord we are asked to practise the presence of God in all that we do and dedicate all our activities unreservedly to Him: That is the *strategic imperative*" "Whatever you do, whatever you eat, whatever you offer in sacrifice, whatever you give away and whatever you practice in the form of austerities, do it all as an offering to Me".³⁹

In short, the special appeal of the Gītā is in its tolerance and the psychological feasibility of the methods it advocates. It rejects outright the philosophy of inaction and insists on a life of service and action. Gandhiji writes: "He who gives up action falls; he who gives up only the reward rises". The forty-seventh verse of the second Chapter clinches the issue. It lays down that we have a right to action only, and must refrain from concern for the fruit of the action. It is two-sided injunction enjoining exclusive-obligation to act and an absolute prohibition of the interest in the fruits of the action. While doing the action, one must feel that the Lord is the agent and we are mere instruments in his hand. Self effacement is necessary. A fourth point is we should not fall a prey to the lure of the temptation of inaction. The first three are positive points and the fourth is the negative one.⁴⁰

Service is a form of devotion, when conceived in the right spirit. Devotion to the Lord is no excuse for claiming exemption

38. Achary V noba Bhaye; *Talks on the Gita*.

39. B. G. IX, 27.

40. S. S. Raghavachar, *Śrī Ramanuja on the Gita*, p. 20-21.

from service. Now should a Jgani hold that his state of mind is the condition of privileged inaction? Selfless dedicated action for the good of all is the true spirit of renunciation. The man of knowledge and devotion, says Gandhiji, must be prepared to grind corn and nurse the patients. Devotion must express itself through action.

The criticism of religion in general and Hinduism in particular is the neglect of the social concern and lack of humanism. The Gita takes up the challenge and advocates the doctrine of Karma yoga, selfless God-dedicated action. My esteemed Professor K. Swaminathan in a recent article highlights the image of true Karma yogin by citing the description of the sacred tree (X - 22) of the *Bhāgavata*.

“ They live and grow for others’ good
Fierce blows of sun and wind and rain
They take themselves and ward off from us.

Those that seek their shelter find
No harsh unkindness, no refusal.

With arms outstretched they welcome guests
With leaf and flower and fruit and shade,
With root and bark and hard heart-wood,
With fragrant gums and tender shoots,
With many parts man’s many needs
It is their nature to fulfil.

Their birth and growth and death are all
A sacrifice unlimited.

From these friends let us learn to spend
Our life, our wealth, our thought and deed
In silent joy for others’ good.

Thus towards the Jumna stream he walked
Through the thick avenue of trees
Laden with foliage, flower and fruit.”

The concept of steadfast service as the essential form of devotion is embedded in the life of the saints of all traditions and scriptures. Appar writes : " His duty is to support His slave. My duty is to serve and be content ". Meikandar in the tenth sūtra of the Sivajñāna Bhodam requires " steadfast service as both the fruit of a good life and the seeds of a better one ". Jesus says " Not every one that calls 'Christ' Lord, but he that does the will of the Father, shall enter the kingdom of Heaven ". St. Teresa writes : Jesus has no body now on earth but yours. You are the feet with which he goes about doing good. Your's are the hands with which he blesses ". Faith without work is useless. In the words of William Law : " There is no possibility of turning to God without turning from self ". The love of God is like the leaven, for it works not only in the three measures of meal of the biblical women but in all the activities of men.

The Gītā view of man is not the Naturalistic account that he is an animal, aggressive, predatory, ready to attack and defend himself, nor is life solitary, poor, brutish and short. Man according to Gītā is a *being* and not an *animal*. He can think and act in terms of values, can rise above passions, anticipate, plan and prepare for the future. He can look before and after, pine for what is not. He is not a helpless victim of blind forces of Nature. The Gītā view of man describes him as a distinct entity from all other forms of life. He is not only a *being*, but is a *divine being*. He is the spirit as well as body. The former is eternal and the latter temporal and perishable. The soul in man can control the physical and the mental. The two, body and the mind, need to be purified. This the spirit can do by its devotion to God. In short, man is created to carry out God's work and glorify his concept of love of all. The Gītā view of the nature and destiny of man and human society is one that takes note of all the essential factors of human life.

Conclusion

What should we do with the Bhagavad Gītā ? The answer is : Get back to the Gītā. Read it slowly, persistently, prayerfully, chapter by chapter. Its contents will grow into you and deepen your understanding and give you the full realisation

of the significance of its teaching for personal life. We are beset by the folly of unbelief, and we put too much trust in the so-called wisdom of man. This is the surest way of keeping away from the influence and the operation of the regenerating power of God, buttressing you in all your activities. The verses of the Gita influence us in an unobtrusive way. It embodies great truths in striking sentences and epigrams. It conveys a warning, sounds an alarm, presents an inducement, proclaims deliverances, makes promises, offers pardon, administers comfort, in short rings in peace and harmony in you. "Your faith must stand not on the wisdom of man but on the power of God" in the words of St. Paul. The whole set of man's life will change. We must read the Gita devotionally and not professionally. We must linger over the verses, ponder over the spirit of the verses. Then the essence will emerge out. The verses rise to lofty heights of spiritual vitality in choice simple expression, disclosing the love of God. The love of God brings order and beauty out of the chaos and coarseness in our life. God's love and a bolt of lightning that strikes an object, reduces the citadel of man's totalitarian self-will to shatter dust and replaces the vaunted structure of human folly with what Paul calls God's husbandry and God's building.

Medicine in Ancient India*

BY

Prof. C. DWARAKANATH

Officer on Special Duty, I.C.M.R.

*(Formerly Adviser in Indian Systems of Medicine, Ministry of Health
Government of India)*

The early origin of Medicine in India is shrouded in the mist of great antiquity. However, available evidence points to the fact that by about the fifth century B.C., a well developed and highly systematised art and applied medical science, comprising eight distinct and well defined specialities—the *Aṣṭāṅgas*¹ viz.,

- (i) Internal Medicine (*Kayachikitsa*).
- (ii) Paediatrics (*Balachikitsa*/*Kaumārabhritya*).
- (iii) Psychological Medicine (*Grahachikitsa*).
- (iv) Otto-Rhino-Laryngeology & Ophthalmology (*Ūrdhwāṅga-chikitsa*†/*Shalākhyatantra*).
- (v) Surgery—both general and special (*Salyachikitsa*/*Tantra*).
- (vi) Toxicology (*Damshtrachikitsa*/*Agadatantra*).

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† The *Ūrdhwāṅgachikitsa* is the branch of medicine which deals with the treatment of diseases of the parts of the body located above the neck i.e., mouth, throat, nose, ears, eyes and, the head, in general. The therapies involved in this branch are both medical and surgical.

(vii) Geriatrics (*Jarachikitsa/Rasāyanatantra*).

(viii) Sexology (*Vrishvachikitsa/Vajikaranatantra*),
was already well established.

By this period, the practice of Medicine, as an applied science, is seen to have been based on a number of disciplines of pure fundamental sciences viz., the physical, including chemical and psychological, based on the *Sāṅkhya* and *Nyaya-Vaisesika* schools of Natural Philosophy and, botanical and zoological sciences, based on *Vṛksha*, *Ashva*, *Hasti*, *Pakshi* and *Sarpa Āyurvedas*. Even so, a firmly set methodology of science, known as the *Pramāṇas*, is seen to have become the basis of all enquiries and investigations. This methodology comprised observation (*Pratyakṣa/Dṛṣṭa*), inference ((*Anumāna*),² in its three aspects viz., the inference of effects from causes (*Pūrvavat*), the inference of causes from effects (*Seshavat*), repeated common place or general observations (*Sāmānyatodṛṣṭam*)³ and, reasoning with a view to rationalisation (*Yukti*)⁴ *Yukti* is seen to have involved the isolation of various factors/causes—invariables and variables—that contribute to the manifestation of a phenomenon (*Bahukāraṇa-yogajam*)⁵ and their statistical evaluation, with a view to the elimination of fallacies (*asat*) and the determination of the truth (*sat*), so that correct conclusions may be drawn.⁶ These conclusions are seen to have been subjected to crucial tests of many kinds (*Bahuvīdhaparīkṣa*).⁷ And, lastly, the authority of experts (*Āptavacana/Āptōpadesa/Srutipramāṇa*).⁸

Besides the eight specialities mentioned above, other applied basic subjects such as anatomy and physiology (*Sarvavṛtti*), aetio-pathogenesis (*Hetu-vyādhi*), therapeutics (*Karma*), objectives (*Karya*), climatology (*Kāla*), the physicians (*Kartru*), materia-medica and pharmaco-dynamics (*Karāṇa*), procedures (*Vidhi*), general principles (*Sloka*), pathogenesis & diagnosis (*Nidāna*), specific determination (*Vimāna*), human embodiment (*Sarīra*), sensorial prognosis (*Indriya*), therapeutics (*Chikitsa*), pharmaceuticals (*Kalpā*) and measures for ensuring success (*Siddhi*) were well developed and they had formed the different sections of works on medicine.⁹

The period from the fifth century B.C. to the fifth/sixth century A.D* or to be more precise, the second/third century A.D. corresponding to the Sunga-Kushān period saw the gradual decline of the progress of medicine in India. The period of actual arrest of further progress and decline may be stated to have set in by about this time.

The period anterior to the fifth/sixth century A.D. extending beyond the third millennium B.C., if not earlier, is seen to cover the era of progressive evolution of medicine in India. This conclusion is based largely on literary or internal evidence and, to some extent on Indological and archaeological grounds.

The Literary or Internal Evidence

Though references to medicine that occur in *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Smritis*, *Srutis*, *Dharmasastras*, *Grihyasūtras*, *Itihasas* and *Purāṇas*, among others, are often relied upon in attempts at the reconstruction of the story of evolution of medicine in India, the relatively more reliable and authentic information relating to the early origins and subsequent development of medicine in ancient or protohistoric India, available in the extant ancient Āyurvedic medical classics, specially the encyclopaedic *Agnivesasamhita*§ (known popularly as the *Charakasamhita* after one of its important redactors) which are wholly secular works, have not so far caught the eye of historians in general and, medical historians, in particular. Some of these classics, particularly, the *Agnivesa* and the *Susrutasamhitas*, the originals of which belong to a period anterior to the third millennium B.C. have furnished a vivid account of the early origin, growth and development of medical science and envisaged the same as a direct

* The fifth/sixth century A.D. corresponds to the time of Achārya Vagbhata, the last of the classical medical authors of India who recompiled the extant medical literature in two of his well known works viz., the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅghridaya*.

§ The *Agnivesasamhita* is stated to have been redacted by a Charaka who is stated to have lived some time between the second century B.C. and second century A.D.

outcome of the evolution of the Indian society or a product of social changes.

These *samhitas* have, no doubt, traced the descent of medicine from and through divine agencies viz., *Brahma*, *Prajāpati*, *Aswins* and *Indra*. This was in keeping with the age-old Indian tradition which traces the source of all knowledge to divine agencies. Medical historians—both Indian and Western—have invariably exploited these references while they completely bypassed the description of the origin and development of medicine in India, in keeping with the needs of a changing society, available in three major sections of the *Agnivesasamhita* (the *Charakasamhita*).

Even so, these *samhitas* have also claimed for *Āyurvēda* a status similar to that enjoyed by the *Vēdas* and described it as an *Upavēda*.¹⁰ Scholars have sought to trace the early origins of *Āyurvēda* to the *Vēdas*, specially the *Atharvan*, obviously to emphasise its divine origin, eternal nature, sanctity and authority. A critical study of the available literature, however, shows that the *Atharvaveda* and *Āyurvēda* were often linked together not because the latter was derived from the former, but because of their common objectives viz., the promotion and maintenance of life. This becomes evident from the observations of *Bhagawan Punarvasu Ātreya* quoted in the *Agnivesasamhita*. “The physician should declare his allegiance to the *Atharvavēda* from among the four *Vēdas*, because, this *Vēda* stands for medical treatment and advocates propitiatory rites, oblations, sacrifices, fasts etc., and treatment, of course, is laid down for the benefit of life”.¹¹ It is of importance, in this connection, to note that, while such terms as *Bhīṣak*, *Salyavaidya*, *Salyahara*, *Rogahara*, *Bhīṣagatharvan*, *Vishahara*, *Oshadi*, *Atharvan*, *Angiras* and *Asvins* find frequent mention in the *Vēdas*, the term *Āyurvēda* is not seen to occur in them. This omission lends support to the view that, *Āyurvēda* or the Science of Life, as an organised body of medical knowledge and discipline, was a later development and it had no direct connection with the earlier *Vedic* medicine.

Society in Ādikāla or Primal Age

The *Agnivesasamhita* refers to a long vista of time—the *ādikāla* or primal age—which is stated to have preceded the

period of the development of townships, city-states, urban culture and civilization. The community in the *adikala*, according to this *samhita*, lived in rural settlements in forests, on river banks, in valleys, hills and mountains. Their main vocation was agriculture and the rearing of cattle. The community life of the people in this period was marked by simple living and high thinking, and was governed by high moral and ethical codes. Their expectancy of life was incredibly long and they lived in harmony with nature and close to the divine. Nature too is stated to have been kind and bountiful and ill-health and disease appear to have been rare and uncommon in this society.

Changing Society—The Samhita Version

After a time, according to this *samhita*, there was a gradual shift from the *adikala* life and culture to life in townships, city-states, and under urban culture and civilisation, which is seen to have set the pace for all-round and rapid deterioration in the moral and ethical values, leading *paripasu* to political, economical, and emotional imbalances and the occurrence of numerous difficult and often fatal diseases unknown in the previous era, and corresponding fall in the expectancy of life.

The *Agnivesasamhita* version of the changes that affected the early Indian society, referred to elsewhere (which may be of considerable interest not only to historians but also to social psychologists and anthropologists) can be summed up thus: As the change from *adikala** life gradually yielded to the developing urban culture and civilization, those who were better circumstanced became heavy of body, bred lassitude; lassitude gave rise to indolence; indolence, in its turn, created the need for the accumulation of goods; this led to acquisition and acquisition engendered greed.....The bodies of the people failing to receive sustenance as before from the progressively deteriorating quality of food, inadequacy, the total lack of physical exercise, afflicted by heat and wind, soon succumbed to attacks of fevers and other diseases. This was soon overtaken by a progressive

* *Adikala* refers to primal period.

decline in the life-span enjoyed by successive generations. In the periods that followed, greed brought malice in its wake ; malice led to falsehood ; falsehood let loose lust, anger, vanity, hatred, cruelty, aggression, fear, affliction, grief, anxiety, distress and the like. In the course of the periods that succeeded, further deterioration set in which ultimately resulted in the lowering of the fertility of the soil and the production of poor quality of *oṣadhi* (this includes food crops also)**. These changes are seen to have affected even the *Riṣis*—both the cloistered and peripatetic—who took to urbanised dietary and drugs and became addicted to luxurious and leisurely habits and, were for the most part, deficient in health.¹³

The Introduction & Evolution of Rational Medicine— The Āyurveda

It is seen from the *Agnivesasamhita* that the deteriorating situation soon reached a stage and attained a magnitude when a solution to the problems of the rapidly raising curve of premature senility, increase in the incidence of difficult diseases and the mounting mortality rate could not be found or checked with the resources of the medical knowledge then available i.e., the *Vedic* medicine. This is said to have led to the convening of a conference of great *Riṣis* viz., *Bhrigu*, *Angiras*, *Atri*, *Vasiṣṭa*, *Kāśyapa*, *Agastya*, *Pulastya*, *Vāmadeva*, *Asita*, *Gautama*, *Viśvāmitra*, *Kausika*, and *Bharaḍvāja*, among others, on the slopes of the Himalayas to consider and devise measures to deal with the problems that had arisen.¹⁴ The conference is seen to have noted that “Health is the supreme foundation of *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mōkṣa*. Diseases are the destroyers of health and good life itself. Now, great impediments to the progress of humanity have arisen in the form of diseases” and posed the question “What shall be the measures to remedy the situation ? ”¹⁵

After considerable discussion, the *Riṣis* decided to approach

** The term ‘*oṣadhi*’ refers, in general to “herbs and plants.” In a comprehensive sense, it refers to ‘annual plants’ which die after ripening and includes cereals and pulses.

Indra, who ruled in the Himalayas, to obtain the knowledge of measures to meet the challenge of diseases that had cropped up. According to the *Agnivesasamhita* version, the *Riṣis* approached *Indra* twice, once by the sage *Bharadvāja*, in an one-man commission and, on another occasion, by a team of their representatives. (In this paper the two deputations have been clubbed together.) The sages are stated to have met *Indra* in his realms in the Himalayas and addressed him thus "Diseases have arisen which are the terror of human beings. What 'O Lord' of the immortals are the appropriate means to remedy them?" *Indra* is then stated to have summed up the causes that were responsible for decay and diseases that had overtaken humanity thus: "...I see that you are afflicted with lack-lusture and have suffered impairment of voice and complexion. These are the evils resulting from life in towns and its unhappy consequences. Town dwelling is indeed the source of all evils..."¹⁶ He is then seen to have taught the *Riṣis* "the science of causes (aetiology), symptomatology and therapy".¹⁷ On his return to the plains, the sage *Bharadvāja* is seen to have imparted the knowledge of *Āyurveda* (science of Life) acquired from *Indra* to other *Riṣis* for whom he deputised at *Indra's* court. Thereafter, one of the *Riṣis*, *Bhagawan Punarvasu Ātreya*, is seen to have taught the science and art of *Āyurveda* to *Agnivesa*, *Bhela*, *Ksharapani*, *Hārta*, *Jatukarna*, and *Parāsara* who, in their turn, compiled separate treatises of their own.¹⁸

It is also seen from the *samhitas* of *Susruta* and *Kasyapa* that, the latter and the *Kāśirāja Divodasa (Dhanvantary)* too obtained their knowledge of paediatrics (*Kaumarabhritya/Balachikitsa*) and surgery--general and special--including the treatment of diseases of the mouth, throat, nose, eyes, ears and head in particular, respectively, from *Indra*. These two authorities, in their turn, imparted their knowledge to their pupils who, for their part, wrote specialised works on different specialities viz., surgery, general and special, on diseases of mouth, throat, nose, eyes, ears and head, obstetrics, gynaecology, paediatrics etc.

The Problem of Dating

The *Āyurvedasamhitas*, though strictly secular in their content and outlook, have, like other ancient Indian non-secular literature, described the origin and evolution of medicine, spread over long periods of time - the *yugas*, viz., *Krita* (17,28,000 years), *Treta* (12,96,000 years) and *Dwāpara* (8,64 000 years), and, in all a total of 38,88,000 years. Thus, the *adikāla* or Primal age is stated to have gradually yielded to the phase of urbanisation in the Indo-Gangetic plains sometime during the latter half of the *Kritayuga*. The introduction of rational medicine, in this area, from a more advanced mid/trans-Himalayan culture and civilization is stated to have taken place after the formation of townships, city-states and when the evolution of urban culture and civilization became a *fait accompli*, somewhere about the concluding phases of this *yuga*. The progressive evolution of medicine, thereafter, in the Indo-Gangetic plains, would appear to have gone on uninterruptedly throughout the *Dwaparayuga*, keeping pace with the demands made by the increasing stresses and strains of a fast-developing urban culture and civilization. It is also seen from *Āyurveda-samhitas* as well as the Buddhist traditions that, the traffic between the Indo-Gangetic plains and the mid/trans Himalayan culture and civilization was maintained throughout this period up-till the fifth century B.C.

Having regard to the foregoing, at least three distinct phases of the history of medicine in ancient India could be made out. They are: (I) the phase corresponding to the period described as the *adikāla* which is seen, not only to have preceded but also extended through the first half or so, of the *Kritayuga*. It pertains to the *Agnivesasamhita* version of an ideal Indian community that consisted of 'Men like Gods' who, probably, inhabited forests, river banks, hills and mountains. Their main vocation was agriculture and cattle rearing. This was obviously not a primitive society of nomadic clans and tribes. Medicine, as an organised science and discipline, was obviously unknown in this phase. The origin of the so-called *Vedic*-medicine may perhaps be traced to this phase. (II) A phase commencing from about the middle of *Kritayuga* and

extending to the concluding periods of the *Dwāparayuga* when medicine, as a well developed and organised discipline, had evolved and became systematised. And (III) the phase extending from the commencement of *Kaliyuga* and ending with the late third century A.D. corresponding to the Sunga-Kuṣāna period which may be stated to mark the beginnings of the phase of arrest, stagnation and decline of rational medicine that preceded the onset of the dark period of Indian medicine.

Attempts at fixing the probable periods that may correspond to the *yugas*, mentioned above, may prove to be an exercise in futility, as the *yugas* refer to aeons and not to any lesser periods. The least that can be done, in the circumstances, is to treat the *yuga* as standing for an epoch or era. On the other hand, to dismiss the source material available in the strictly secular *Āyurvedasamhitās*, will be deliberately throwing away valuable information of considerable anthropological and sociological significance and historical importance and which, when assessed against known and dependable parameters, may prove to be extremely valuable in envisaging the evolution of medicine in the ancient or proto-historic India. Two such parameters, the author has in his mind, are : (i) Indological contributions and (ii) recent contributions of Indian archaeology.

The Indological Contributions

The indological contributions relevant to the present context refer, firstly, to the probable time of the advent of the *Kali* era and secondly, the likely periods to which *Kasirāja Divodasa Dhanvantari* and *Punarvasu Ātreya* (and his pupil *Susruta*) may have belonged. As regards the probable time of the advent of the *Kali* era, epigraphical evidence provided by the Aihole inscriptions of Pulikesin II (VII century A.D.) show that the Mahābhārata war took place in 3102 B.C. (as per the astronomical traditions of Ārya Bhata) and this was the starting point of the *Kali* era.¹⁹ According to Monier Williams, the *Kali* era began in the midnight of 18th February, 3102 B.C.²⁰ The probable periods to which *Bhagawan Punarvasu Ātreya* (the preceptor of *Agnivesa*) and *Kasirāja Divodasa* (the preceptor of *Susruta*) and

the sage *Bharadwaja* from whom the two authorities, referred to above, learnt *Āyurveda*, belonged, is sought to be fixed paying due regard to the period in which *Rāja Dasaratha* and his son *Sri Ramachandra* may have flourished. For, it has been stated both in the *Purānas* viz., the *Bhāgavata* and the *Harivamsa* and the two Epics (*Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*) that *Kāsiraja* and his son *Pratardana* were close friends of *Rāja Dasaratha* and *Sri Rāmachandra*, respectively.³¹ The Sage *Bharadwaja* who is stated to have been the purohit of three generations of the family of *Kāsirajas* was also a contemporary of *Sri Rāmachandra*.³² According to *Susruta*'s own account, he was the son of sage *Visvāmītra*, who was also a contemporary of *Rāja Dasaratha* and his son.³³ Indologists of the eminence of Pārgiter, Toynbee and Pusalker and historians of the eminence of Srinivasa Iyengar and astronomers of the eminence of Swāmikannu Pillai proposed various dates, ranging from 2040 B.C. to 2909 B.C. or in round figures 3000 B.C. for the time of *Sri Rāmachandra*. The author has, after taking into consideration various other dates suggested by different authorities, proposed in his key-paper on 'Some Significant Aspects of the Origin and Development of Medicine in Ancient India'* that it may be safe to assume that *Sri Rāmachandra* and his contemporaries, under reference, could not have belonged to a period later than 300 B.C. The *adikālā* described by the *Agnivesasamhita* can, therefore, be taken to refer to a period considerably anterior to the fourth millennium B.C. By the same token, the probable period when medicine, as a rational systematised science was introduced in the Indo-Gangetic plains may have been between the fourth and the third millennium B.C. coinciding with the burgeoning of urban culture in this region. Even so, all subsequent medical developments must have taken place in a time-bracket with the upper limit of about 3500 B.C. and lower limit of about the third Century A.D.

* This paper was presented by the author at the Symposium on History of Sciences of India, held at the National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi, Oct. 17-20, 1968, under the auspices of the National Commission for the compilation of History of Sciences of India.

Archaeological Contributions

More recent archaeological developments in the Pakistan sub-continent have provided a time-bracket for the highly urbanised Indus Valley civilization and Hārappan culture covering a period between c. 2500 B.C. to c. 1750 B.C.²⁴ The mature phase of this urban culture has been ascribed to c. 2300—c. 1750 B.C.²⁵ The lower limit of this time-bracket, namely c. 2500 B.C. does not, however, take into account about 24 feet of “water-logged occupation layers” at Mohenjo-daro which could not be explored. According to the American archaeologist, Dales, this submerged area, “contains the record of the city’s earliest development” and its exploration “will help to illuminate the question of Hārappan origin”.²⁶ Having regard to the above and other available evidences, Pusalker has opined that the Indus civilization may well reach beyond 3500 B.C.²⁷ This agrees more or less with the lower limit of the time-bracket c. 3500 B.C. for the introduction of *Āyurveda* to the urbanised Indian community, suggested by the author on the strength of internal evidence. It may be noted here that the urban culture of the Indus valley was not confined to that valley alone but was spread extensively as far East as Alamgirpur in the Ganga-Yamuna basin in the Uttar-Pradesh, as far North as Ruper in the Punjab and as far South as Bhagatray on the Kim.²⁸

As regards the Ganga-Yamuna basin, the progress of archaeological exploration and excavation of sites of considerable antiquity, historical and cultural importance, in this region, have been rather slow and not comparable to the progress of similar operations in the Indus valley and other Hārappan sites elsewhere. Of the numerous sites of cultural and historical importance in this area, Kampilya and Kāsi (Vārānasi) were very closely associated with medical and surgical developments, respectively, in ancient India. *Āyurveda* was a product of the culture of the Ganga-Yamuna basin. In its spread, it had extended to and embraced not only the Indus valley but also influenced the development of medicine in peninsular India. Barring the well developed system of drainage, houses constructed with attached bath-rooms and well-laid-out water-supply system, all of which attest to the remarkable skill of Hārappans in town-planning and sanitation

and highly developed civic life, there is hardly any evidence to show that the Indus valley culture influenced the development of medicine in the Ganga-Yamuna basin and elsewhere in the sub-continent. The discovery of pieces of a coal-black substance identified as *Silajit* and horns of deer and antelopes, coral, cuttle-fish bones and *nim* leaves (*Azadirachta indica*) in Mohenjo-daro, represent the only evidence of medicine in this area.⁸⁰ These items, specially, *Silajit*, deer and antelope horn, represent some of the important substances of medicinal value highly spoken of in *Āyurveda*. Even today, they are employed by vaidyas all over India for therapeutic purposes. *Silajit* is a natural product which is not native to the Indus-valley. It occurs in the lower Himalayas, Vindhayas and other mountainous tracts. Nepal has been, from very ancient times, the main source of supply of this substance. This solitary piece of evidence can be justifiably construed to point to the influence of the medicine of the Ganga-Yamuna basin on that of the Indus valley civilization during its mature phase.

The above apart, recent archaeological finds of early and late, 'Hārappan type' in a number of sites in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, for example at Alamgirpur and Bargoan, (about 2000 B.C.)⁸⁰ show the total absence of town planning for which the Hārappans were justifiably reputed. This evidence may lend support to the view that, while civic life may have originated in the Ganga-Yamuna basin and slowly spread to the Indus valley, its development in the latter region may have been rapid due largely to the close maritime and overland contacts it had with Sumer and other Persian Gulf cultures.

As regards the position of archaeology in respect of the evolution of civic life and urban culture in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, the slow progress of exploration and excavation in this area notwithstanding, some interesting authoritative views have been reported. Basing his views on the evidence so far made available by Indian archaeology, observes Sir Mortimer Wheeler "...Civic life in recognizable form begins only...in the earlier half of the first millennium B.C.⁸¹ The date of this culture with its mixed farming seems to have been about 1000 to 800 B.C. Its earlier roots have not yet been recognized.....Since that time, it

has been continuous here".⁸² He adds ".....there arose in the same region", (the Ganga-Yamuna doab) "with seeming suddenness an evolved and widespread urban culture almost worthy of the name civilization. Its origins, historical or archaeological, are unknown, though it clearly deserves a respectable parentage... Year after year, fresh evidence points to a great burgeoning of civic life on the northern plains by the second quarter of the first millennium B.C."⁸³ He considers that the sudden burgeoning of civic life in this area *vis-a-vis* the discovery of copper hoards cannot be ascribed to Hārappan influence and "they cannot be traced to any source outside India". He considers the theory of Indo-Aryan migration as "equally difficult to sustain".⁸⁴

As pointed out by Sir Mortimer Wheeler "The exploration of the two river country, or doab of the Ganga Jumna (Yamuna) basin is still in rudimentary stage".⁸⁵ However, recent excavations at Rājghat (Vārānasi) has pushed back the antiquity of this place to about 800 B.C. The modern town of Vārānasi which is situated on the vestiges of earlier habitation, if excavated, is likely to throw more light on the culture of the doab and the earlier periods of its development.⁸⁶ Likewise, the excavation of Mathura, Ahichchatra, Kausāmbi and Barnava, among sites which were closely associated with the Mahābhārata story, carried out by Lal and associates, has shown that these places had a fairly well developed civic life as late as c. 1100-800 B.C. corresponding to the period when Hastināpura was washed away by floods in Ganga. Available archaeological evidence seems to show that Hastināpura was finally abandoned, due to flooding at the time of Nichakṣu, a direct descendent of the Pāndavas, who migrated to and set up his capital at Kausambi by about c. 1100 B.C. According to Sharma, who carried out the excavation of Kausāmbi, this place "had a close link with Navadatoli", a predominantly Hārappan site for which radio-carbon dating is seen to furnish a period roughly between c. 1500 B.C. to c. 1100 B.C. Even so, he opines that "the very idea of town-life was unknown in the Gangetic valley, possibly prior to 1500 B.C."⁸⁷

It will be seen, from the foregoing, that available archaeological evidences show that (a) the Hārappan culture, which was essentially and pronouncedly urban in nature, came to an end by

about c. 1750. (b) Civic life in a recognisable form began to appear in the Ganga-Yamuna basin after 1500 B.C. (c) The urban culture of the Ganga-Yamuna basin was marked by the absence of town-planning for which the Hārappan culture was well known and this eliminates any possible influence of the latter on the former. (d) And according to authorities of the eminence of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the emergence with "seeming suddenness" in this region of "an evolved and widespread urban culture, almost worthy of the name civilization" by about 1000 to 800 B.C. "the origins - historical or archaeological-of which "are unknown" and which "deserves a respectable parentage.....cannot be traced to any source outside India". It is of significance to note that Sir Mortimer considers "the theory of Indo-Aryan migration as equally difficult to sustain".²²

It will now be seen that Indological research and archaeological evidence point to two different periods, separated by a gap of over 2000 years, for the emergence and evolution of civic life, urban culture and civilization in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, according to the former, between the fourth and third millennium B.C. and according to the latter, between 1500 B.C. and 800 B.C. Both the estimates are conservative and cautious. The gap, referred to above, has to be accounted for and it may be expected that future exploration and excavation of sites of great antiquity, historical and cultural importance in the doab, may supply evidence either to confirm or reject the Indological evidence. However, a point of agreement between the two—the Indological and archaeological—is that, both consider that the evolution of civic life, urban culture and civilization in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, was preceded by long periods of occupation of the Doab. Available archaeological evidence is inadequate to hypothesize the nature of the culture of this period. The *Āyurvedasambhita* version of the culture of the period, under reference, in the absence of any better account, may, for the present purpose, be relied upon. This is important, as the evolution of medicine in India, as elsewhere in the world, was an immediate outcome of changes in the living conditions of the community. The evolution of medicine from what it was in the *adikala* (or may we say, the *pre-vedic* and *vedic* times, for want of any better term) to the time when it reached its apogee, the periods of its stagnation, arrest, of further growth.

dogmatisation and decline, may be envisaged to have taken place roughly between the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. and the third/fifth century A.D. In the absence of chronological data relating to the different stages of its evolution, only some of the major and more significant development of medicine in India that can be made out from the available editions of the *Agnivesa* (*Charaka*) and *Sushruta samhitas* are referred below.

Medicine in Pre-Āyurvedic (or the vedic) Period

An idea of the stage of the development of medicine prior to the introduction of *Āyurveda*, in the Indo-Gangetic plains, from a more advanced Himālayan culture, some time between 4000 B.C. and 3500 B.C. can be had from references available in the *Agnivesa* (*Charaka*) *saṃhita*. These references relate, among others, to surgical feats said to have been performed by *Asvins* viz., the restoration of the head of *Yajna* (a son of Ruchi) which was severed by *Rudra*; the restoration of the head of *Dadhyanchi*, the substitution of it with the head of the horse and the restoration later, of the original head; the giving of a new denture to *Poṣa* in the place of the tooth that became loosened; the removal of the diseased eye of *Bhaga* and its replacement with a new eye and the removal of arrows from the body and the healing of injuries caused by them. *Asvins* are also stated to have cured *Indra* of the paralysis of his hand, Soma of consumption and restoration of youth to *Chyavana* who was aging. *Rigvēda* refers to the surgeons of the time who are stated to have replaced the broken leg of *Viśpala* with an iron leg. It is a matter of considerable interest to note that the medical and surgical achievements referred to by the *Agnivesasaṃhita* were of *Asvins* who were attached to *Indra's* retinue and, *Indra*, as was noted earlier, belonged to the Himālayan culture. It is seen from the *Atharvaveda*, which is said to belong to the terminal phases of the *Vēdic* age that the priest-physicians of the time, believed in the efficacy of and employed elaborate sacrificial rituals, charms, incantations, spells, magic and herbs in the treatment of diseases. From available evidence, it is seen that medicine as a rational science and systematised art was not known in this era. The *Atharvaveda* has devoted 114 hymns for medicine

and they refer to fevers, consumption, wounds of different kinds (like *vidradhi*, *apachi* etc.), skin diseases, dropsy, headache, poisons, rheumatism, insanity and epilepsy. These diseases appear to have been more common in this period.

Medicine in the Post-Vedic Periods:

It was noted elsewhere that the term *Āyurveda* does not occur in the *Vedas*. There is sufficient evidence to support the view that this term came into vogue at a much later period—possibly between 3500 B.C. and 3000 B.C. The definition of this term and description of its aims, objects and scope furnished by the early *samhitas* are significant in more than one respect in that, they also reflect the nature, outlook and goals of the society which gave birth to it.

The term *Āyurveda* is composed of two words viz., '*Āyuh*' and '*Veda*' meaning 'life and knowledge of', respectively. Etymologically speaking, the term Biology, which is also composed of two words viz., '*Bios*' and '*Logos*', meaning 'life' and 'knowledge of', respectively, carry the same idea as the terms *Āyuh* and *Veda* do. It is seen from the *Susrutasamhita* that *Kāśirajha Divodasa Dhanvantari* described *Āyurveda* "as a science in which the knowledge of life exists or which helps man to enjoy longevity."³⁹ This term has been amplified further by both *Kāśirajha Divodasa Dhanvantari* and *Bhagawan Punarvasu Ātreya* which highlights its aims, objects and scope. According to the former, "The utility of *Āyurveda* can be classified under two heads viz., the cure of the disease in the afflicted and the preservation of health in the healthy"⁴⁰ and, according to the latter, "the maintenance of health in the healthy and the cure (relief) of disease in the ailing".⁴¹ In modern parlance, the aims, objects and scope of *Āyurveda* were both preventive and curative.

A careful study of *Āyurvedasamhitas* shows that the preventive aspect of medicine received priority of consideration and daily regimen—physical, mental, social, moral and ethical—(*Dinacharya*), as well as the regimen for different seasons—physical, dietetic etc., (*Rutucharya*) have been meticulously described, the latter with a view, possibly, to promote a smooth

biological adaptation to the stresses and strains of seasonal changes. These regimen are, in fact, seen to have become a way of life of the then community. Even so, in modern times too, many of these regimen are seen to be observed, in most parts of India as formal observances, often mixed up with religious rituals. The *samhitas* have repeatedly emphasized the importance of prevention as compared to the cure of diseases. In the case of the latter, they have stressed the importance of early diagnosis and treatment.

Social Goals vis a vis Medicine in Ancient India :

The *raison d'être* for the maintenance of health, promotion of longevity and freedom from disease, on the one hand and, integrated and properly balanced social endeavours which, by the way, reflect the overall outlook of the community of the time on the other, highlighted by the *Agnivesasamhita*, can be summed up thus: 'Health is the supreme foundation for the performance of one's duty (*Dharma*), acquisition of wealth (*Artha*), gratification of (legitimate) pleasure of life (*Kama*) and the achievement of salvation (*Moksha*) Diseases are the destroyers of health, good life and even life itself" ⁴³ As regards the mode of life and social goals, this *samhita* has, in the order of priority-attached importance to the preservation (promotion) of life. It notes: "The giving up of life will mean the giving up of every, thing. The preservation (promotion) of life is to be achieved by the observance of the rules of health (*swasthavritta*) by the healthy and the diligent alleviation of abnormal states of health in the ailing. The assiduous practice of these principles will enable the practice of *Dharma*" ⁴⁴ *Dharma* refers to the performance of one's duty to oneself, to one's dependents, to the community to which one belongs, to the state, to the nation and to humanity as a whole.

The second objective and goal relate to the acquisition of wealth and, therefore, refers to economics. Observes the *samhita*: "Thereafter, the pursuit of wealth should be taken up. For, after life, wealth is to be sought. Surely there can be no misery more miserable than that of a man blessed with long life but lacks the

means to make his life worth living. Efforts should, therefore, be made to acquire the required means to live a healthy life. The legitimate means of acquisition of wealth are, agriculture, the rearing of cattle, trade (commerce) and the service of the king (state). In addition, a person may take to such vocations as are apt to ones knowledge not disapproved by the righteous and which provide both livelihood and opulence. In this way, a man can live long and with dignity.”⁴⁴ The *samhita* then proceeds to a discourse on the theory of re-birth and the preparation for the hereafter by recourse to ethical, moral and spiritual pursuits.

Scientific Methodology Generalisation & Specialisation :

The evidences available in the two main *Āyurveda-samhitas* show that, by the time of *Kasiraja Divodasa Dhanvantari* and *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya*, a broad-based methodology, known as the *pramāṇas* (referred to elsewhere), became the basis of all enquiries and investigations. That the ancient Indian medical authorities attached considerable importance to logical reasoning based on observation can be seen from an observation attributed to *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya* found in the *Agnivesasamhita* (the *Charakasamhita*). The *Bhagawān* is seen to have told *Agnivesa* and other disciples that ‘the visible is limited while there exists (beyond the visible) a vast universe of which we become aware of, on the basis of authority (of *expe agama*), inference (*auumana*) and reasoning (*yukti*).....Hence it is an unfounded statement to make that only the visible exists and nothing else’.⁴⁵ It may be noted here that the well known Baconian methodology of Science (vide *Novum Organum*—1561–1626 A.D.) which has formed the basis of modern scientific developments, bears a striking resemblance to the ancient Indian methodology, referred to above and elsewhere.

An outcome of the application of the methodology of investigation—essentially analytical—by the time of *Kasiraja Divodasa Dhanvantari* and *Bhagawān Punarvasu Ātreya* was, the accumulation of vast amount of details. These are seen to have led to the development of specialisation—both at the level of the fundamental as well as applied aspects of medicine, such as the anatomy and physiology—(*Sariravrikti*), pathogenesis and

diagnosis (*Nidāna*), pharmaco-dynamics (*Dravyādiviṅṇāna*) and therapeutics (*Chikitsa*).

The phase of development mentioned above is seen to have been followed by a stage when the theory and practice of medicine (including surgery) became crystalised, leading to broad-based generalisations and the postulation of concepts, principles and axioms. Since printing was then unknown, the concepts, principles and axioms were sought to be presented in the form of terse aphorisms (*sūtras*, *ślokas* and *gadyas*) which could be easily committed to memory and communicated from mouth to mouth, from generation to generation. *Dridabala*, a much later redactor of the *Agnivesasamhita* (the *Charakasamhita*) refers to an age-old tradition, according to which, the redactor has to expand the knowledge presented in terse aphorisms and reduce to terse aphorisms the knowledge described in extenso. In doing so he has to renew the old knowledge and bring it up to date.*

Among the several outcomes of crystalisation and generalisation, the following are historically significant :—

- (1) The emergence of two broad-based but inter-related concepts viz., (a) promotive, preservative and preventive medicine—the *Swasthavritta*—and (b) curative medicine.
- (2) The development of eight specialities of medicine viz., the *ashtāngas*, described elsewhere.
- (3) The emergence of the Schools of Medicine and Surgery, the former known as the *Ātreya* school and the latter, the *Dhanvantariya* school.

The last mentioned outcome, marks a distinct stage of development in the history of medicine in India. It is seen from the available internal evidence that, the two schools were

* The process of redaction is seen to involve the correlation of and supplementation by related facts and statements found in other treatises that have a bearing on the subject.

supplementary and complementary to one another and the relationship of the two was marked by mutual respect, esteem and cordiality as could be seen from frequent references in the *Agnivesasamhita* to *Dhanvantari* and *Dhanvantariyas*. Thus, while discussing the different varieties of abdominal tumours (*gulma*), their diagnosis and treatment, *Bhagawan Punarvasu Atreya* is seen to have observed that, "cases of suppurating abcess belong to the domains of *Dhanvantariyas*. The treatment of this condition is in the competence of surgeons who have experience in the arts of aspiration, elimination and healing".⁴⁵ Referring to the treatment of the conditions, mentioned above, with thermo-cautery (*daha/agnikarma*), the *Bhagawan* is seen to have observed that "cauterisation too belongs to the domains of *Dhanvantariyas*. The procedure for the application of caustics (*ksharakarma*) is also a subject which has to be handled by experts in this therapy" Referring to the surgical treatment of intestinal obstruction (*badhdodara*) and perforation (*chidrodara*), he is seen to have told his pupils that, "the requisite operative measures should be carried out by expert abdominal surgeons".⁴⁷ Dealing with the surgical treatment of haemorrhoids (*arshas*) as well as with caustics and cautery, he is seen to have observed, "We may take it that all these measures will be carried out by skilled and experienced surgeons".⁴⁸ Even so, he is seen to have stated that, as regards eye diseases, "their symptomatology and treatment have been described in works on *Salya tantram*. It is not, therefore, attempted to expatiate on them here. They belong to the province of specialists".⁴⁹ Adverting to the differing views, advanced by several authorities, on the question of the time order of the development of the different parts of the embryo, the *Bhagawan* is seen to have approved the views of *Dhanvantari* that "all parts develop simultaneously".⁵⁰ Dealing with the methods prevalent in his time, for the removal of dead foetus from the womb, he is seen to have referred to its extraction "performed by experienced and competent surgeons."⁵¹

The all-round advance made, in the period under reference, is also seen to include obstetrics. Commenting on the vivid description of the development of the human embryo, observes Prof. Keswani: "The various developmental stages of the human

embryo from the time of its fertilisation until full term have been so well described that one is amazed at the acuteness of their observations. The only inference one can, therefore, draw is that they must have had some sort of aid of optical instruments to be able to describe even the microscopic appearance of the early zygote and must have studied embryology in experimental animals; or, dissect the abortus and the still born."⁵⁹

Among the manipulative and instrumental manoeuvres in obstetrical practice described in the two *samhitas*, the following are worth noting :—

- (i) The induction of abortion in cases where pregnancy may either endanger the health or the life of the mother.
- (ii) Gurettng in cases of incomplete abortion.
- (iii) The induction of labour in cases of delayed delivery or uterine inertia.
- (iv) Versions of different kinds in cases of mal-presentations.
- (v) The removal of the foetus in cases of difficult labour or defects in the maternal passage, by an abdominal section, reminiscent of the modern Caesarian section.
- (vi) The extraction of dead foetus by craniotomy.
- (vii) The delivery of retained plecenta by manual manipulation, specially massage, reminiscent of the Credas method.

Some of the surgical achievements of the period which have attracted international attention, in the present, and which have formed the basis of modern developments are, among others, Rhinoplasty and Lithotomic operation for the removal of cystic stones. Commenting on these measures described in the *Āyurvedasamhitas*, observes Jurgen Thorwald, "They reflected an

unusual degree of rational medical experience. In particular, it revealed a creative strain in surgery."⁵³

Importance Attached to Anatomy :

The importance attached to anatomy in ancient India can be seen from observations attributed to *Kasirāja Divodasa Dhanvantary* and *Bhagawān Punarvasu Atreya* in the *Susruta* and *Agnivēsa-samhitas*, respectively. According to the former, "Different parts of the body, including even the skin, cannot be properly described by anyone who wants to be a surgeon and who has not made a proper study of anatomy. Therefore anyone desirous of acquiring a thorough knowledge of anatomy should prepare a cadaver and carefully observe, after performing dissection on it and examine the different parts. For, a thorough knowledge can be only obtained by comparing the description given in the *sāstras* on the subjects, by direct observation.....He who has studied the internal structure of the human body and is well read in the works having a bearing on these subjects, and has thus, all his doubts cleared from his mind, is alone qualified in the science of *Āyurveda* and has a rightful claim to practice the art of healing."⁵⁴

Observes the latter, "The physician who knows the anatomical enumeration of the body, together with the description of its different members, is seldom a victim of confusion arising out of ignorance of the theory.....Knowledge of the analysis of the body subserves the purpose of the maintenance of the health of the body. Knowledge of factors that contribute to the well-being of the body will arise only as a direct consequence of the knowledge of the analysis of the body.....A physician who understands the body in every respect and in its entirety knows *Āyurveda* in its fullness and he contributes to the happiness of the world."⁵⁵ While, these observations point to the existence, in ancient India, of descriptive anatomy, the extant editions of the two *samhitas* do not deal with them. This is obviously because these works represent, more or less, records of high-level discussions in conferences, symposia and seminars of experts drawn from different parts of the then civilized world that are seen to have taken place in ancient India from time to time and not text books. It would,

therefore, not be correct to expect them to deal with such highly specialised subjects as anatomy, physiology and the like. If there were separate works on these subjects, they are not available now. That there were such works becomes evident from the mention made them by later commentators.

Physiological Doctrines:

The physiological doctrines basic to medicine in ancient India are reflected in the concept of *Doṣa*, *Dhātu* and *Malas*. The *Dōṣhaṣ* are seen to refer to generalisation of the functions of the human body under three broad-based systems viz., *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Kapha* systems. It is seen from the root-meanings and descriptions of these terms furnished by the *Agnivesa* and *Susruta Samhitas* that, (i) the term *Vāta* is derived from the Sanskrit root *va-gati*—(meaning to move-motion) and *gandhayoh* (smell and other sensory stimuli viz., taste, vision, sound and touch) and defined as the factor of the body which transmits all these sensations to the mind⁵⁶ *Pitta*, from the sanskrit root *tapā* to heat and *daha*-to burn⁵⁷ The former is stated to pertain to the production of body-heat and, the latter, to the burning of the food ingested and, the term *Kapha* as *Kēna Jalena Phalatiti*,⁵⁸ meaning that it is a product of water or that which retains water and *slīṣha-ālingana*, to embrace or hold together. The term *Dhātu* is seen to be derived from the Sanskrit root *du-dhani* meaning to support and nourish. This term refers, on the one hand, to the seven basic tissue-elements viz., *rasa* (the circulating fluid matrix), *rakta* (the elements of blood that impart red colour to the *rasa*), *māmsa* (muscle-tissue), *medas* (adipose tissue), *aslihi* (bone-tissue), *mejja* (marrow-tissue) and *shukra* (reproductive tissue) and, seven kinds of nutrient homologues, specific to each one of the seven tissue elements, on the other. The term *mala* is seen to be derived from the Sanskrit root *mrujate-shodhayate*, meaning to clear out, to purity. *Malas* are stated to comprise both food and tissue-wastes that are meant to be eliminated from the body. Without getting into details, it may be noted that the *Āyurvēdasamhitas* consider that the equilibrium of these three factors constitute health and, their imbalance, the disease. The *samhitas* have insisted that a good grasp of the normal functioning of *Doṣas*, *Dhātus* and *Malas*

in depth is the *sine qua non* for proceeding with the study of pathogenesis and treatment.

Constitution and Temperament :

Historically significant is the evolution, in the period under reference, of the concept of Human Constitution and Temperament (*Prakriti*), a good understanding of which is considered essential for understanding the susceptibility or otherwise of a given individual to disease-causing factors and for individualising his treatment. According to the *samhitas*, the Constitution and Temperament of an individual are determined by the state of *Doṣas* of the parents at the time of the sex act and formed at the time of the fertilisation of the *stribhija* (*arthava*) by the *pumbija* (*sukra*).⁵⁹ Seven types of *Prakriti* viz., three, that arise due to the preponderance of one *Doṣa* over the rest; three, again, due to the combination of any two of the three and one in which all the three are in equal proportion. These types signify physical characteristics and mental traits as determined by the concerned *Doṣa* or the *Doṣas*, as the case may be. Of them, the one in which all the three *Doṣas* are equally proportioned—known as the *Samaprakriti*—is considered to be the best and the types which are dominated by any twos—known *Dwandwaja-prakritis*—the undesirables.*

* It is of considerable significance to note that Sheldon has recently classified the human constitution, on embryological grounds, as of three main types viz., Endomorphs, Mesomorphs and Ectomorphs and, as seven, due to the combination and permutation of any two of the three types and, the balanced mixture of all the three in one. His classification and description of the different types virtually overlap the earlier classification and description of Indian medicine. He also considers most people's body as mixtures of Endomorphy, Mesomorphy and Ectomorphy. Their temperaments are mixtures of viscerotonia, somotonia and cerebrotonia. Mixtures in which all the three types of the body are well balanced are best. Extremes are considered by him to be undesirable.

Resistance to Disease, Decay and Degeneration

Of considerable historical importance is the development in ancient Indian medicine, of the concept of decay, disease and degeneration, described as *Vyadhiṣamatva*,⁶¹ and the correlation of this faculty to the formed biological substance described as *Shlehmika Ojas* which is considered to be an invariable constituent of the circulating fluid of the body—the *Rasadhatu*—referred to earlier. The two ancient *Āyurvedasamhitas* have attributed this faculty to 'Balam' which is stated to function in two ways viz., (a) by countering the virulence of the diseases, described as *Vyādhibalavirodhitvam* and (b) by containing or inhibiting the causative factors of the disease, described as *Vyadhutpadakapratibhandakatvam*. The substance which is stated to be responsible for 'Balam' is the *Sleshmika Ojas*—a substance which is said to be metabolically produced and its quantity strictly individualised. Inadequacy in its production, either due to mal-nutrition or metabolic errors, or its loss due to haemorrhage or leakage in the circulatory channels or defects at the level of capillary (*śrotas*) exchange are, among others, stated to lower the capacity of the body to resist disease, decay and degeneration. All therapies evolved by medicine in ancient India, specially the *Rasāyana* therapy, aim at the promotion and maintenance of the *Sleshmika Ojas* at the optimum level.⁶²

Disease - An Evolutionary Process

No less important was the development of the concept that describes the natural history of disease as an evolutionary process (*Vyadhi-pariṇāma*), comprehended by the concept of *Dosha* (*Vyadhi*) *Kriyakala* elaborated in the *Susrutasamhita*. According to this concept, diseases, regardless of whether they are idiopathic (*Nija*) or traumopathic (*Āgantuja*), represent a process which is said to move in six consecutive steps. This process envisages a scheme which can be aptly described as host-agent-environment reaction in which the impact of the aetiological agent, under appropriate environmental conditions — these may be intrinsic stresses (*Ādhyātmika*), somatic (*Sarika*) or psychic (*Manasika*) or both, or extrinsic (*Ādibhautika*) — is stated to initiate the process of diseases which proceeds in six consecutive steps of which the

first three are preparatory and are characterised by vague symptomatology. The fourth step is stated to be signified by prodromal symptoms of the on-coming disease. The disease as a distinct and recognisable entity is stated to manifest in the fifth step. In the sixth step, the disease may either terminate, leading to convalescence followed by recovery or death, or become complicated or chronic or serve as the cause of other diseases. According to this concept, the process of the disease can be averted or interrupted in the course of the first three stages by early diagnosis and the adoption of measures for the radical elimination (*Samsodana*) of the morbid factors (*Doṣas*). These steps therefore, correspond to levels of prevention. A deep understanding of the sequences of subsequent steps is said to enable proper management of the patient (with *Samsamana* measures), with a view to enable him to recover completely and rehabilitate himself or the prevention of complications and the limitation of disability. Observes *Kasiraja Divodasa Dhanvantari*: "The physician who fully knows about the six *Kriyakalas* alone is entitled to be called a physician. The deranged *Doṣas* when checked and subdued in the first step will not develop further. But, if left unremedied, the morbid factors will gain in strength and intensity in the course of their further evolutive phases".⁶³

The therapy for disease and their prevention as well as for the promotion and maintenance of health — both radical (*Samsodana*) and palliative (*Samsamana*) developed by medicine in ancient India, by about the third millennium B.C., are seen to be based on the concept of disease as an evolutionary process.

Medical Education

The evidence available in the ancient *Āyurveda-saṃhitās* show that, by about the third millennium B.C., there were at least two main centres of medical learning viz., *Kampilya* and *Kāsi*. The former is seen to have been the seat of the School of Physicians and the latter that of Surgeons. Admission to these centres would appear to have been very rigid, highly selective and discerning — the period of training extending to over five years (?).

These centres are seen to have been built around well known and eminent authorities. There is also evidence to show that these centres attracted students from all parts of the then civilized world. From the strong emphasis laid on the need for the preparation and dissection of human cadavers, it can be presumed that medical education must have been institutionalised. Even so, it can be presumed, on the basis of the elaborate description of the way a hospital — *Āturalaya* — should be constructed, organised and run, available specially in the *Agnivesasamhita*, that there must have been facilities for imparting clinical training. There is also evidence in the literature to show that, in addition to didactic methods, teaching was also imparted through discussion in seminars and symposia.

It could also be discerned from references in the two *samhitas* that after the successful completion of their training and before embarking on practice, the students had to go through a convocation and they were administered an oath relevant portions of which run as follows :—

“Day and night, however thou mayest be engaged, thou shalt endeavour for the relief of patients with all thy heart and soul. Thou shalt not desert or injure thy patient even for the sake of thy life or thy living. Thou shalt not commit adultery even in thought. Even so, thou shalt not covet other's possessions. Thou shalt be modest in thy attire and appearance. Thou shouldst not be a drunkard or a sinful man nor shouldst thou associate with the abettors of crimes. Thou shouldst speak words that are gentle, pure and righteous, pleasing, worthy, true, wholesome and moderate. Thy behaviour must be in consideration of time and place and heedful of past experience. Thou shalt act always with a view to the acquisition of knowledge and the fullness of equipment.”

“No persons, who are hated of the king or who are haters of the king or who are hated of the public or who are haters of the public, shall receive treatment.

Similarly those that are of very unnatural, wicked and miserable character and conduct, those who have not vindicated their honour and those that are on the point of death and similarly women who are unattended by their husbands or guardians shall not receive treatment.

“No offering meant by a woman without the behest of her husband or guardian shall be accepted by thee. While entering the patient's house, thou shalt be accompanied by a man who is known to the patient and who has his permission to enter, and thou shalt be well-clad and bent of head, self-possessed, and conduct thyself after repeated consideration. Thou shalt thus properly make thy entry. Having entered, thy speech, mind, intellect and senses shall be entirely devoted to no other thought than that of being helpful to the patient and of things concerning him only. The peculiar customs of the patient's household shall not be made public. Even knowing that the patient's span of life has come to its close, it shall not be mentioned by thee there where if so done, it would cause shock to the patient or to others,

“Though possessed of knowledge one should not boast very much of one's knowledge. Most people are offended by the boastfulness of even those who are otherwise good and authoritative.

“There is no limit at all to the “Science of Life”. So, thou shouldst apply thyself to it with diligence. This is how thou shouldst act. Again thou shouldst learn the skill of practice from another without carping. The entire world is the teacher to the intelligent and foe to the unintelligent. Hence, knowing this well, thou shouldst listen and act according to the words of instruction of even an unfriendly person, when they are worthy and such as bring fame to you and long life, and are capable of giving you strength and prosperity.”⁶⁴

It is also seen from the *Susrutasamhita* that qualified physicians and surgeons had to obtain the permission of the king to enable them to practice their profession.

Well known centres of medical education as those of Takshasila and Nālanda must have developed at a much later period, probably nearer to the historical period. At any rate, the two ancient *Āyurvēdasamhitas* which have been relied on in this paper, have not made any mention of them. Takshasila from where Jivaka is stated to have graduated is seen to have flourished and survived through the Buddhist period and was destroyed by the Huns. Nālanda, which flourished in the Buddhist period and continued to function thereafter, is seen to have been destroyed by Bakthiar Khilji in the tenth century A.D. Medical education as an institutionalised discipline, came to an end with the destruction of Nālanda.

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Jaina System of Learning in South India

BY

S. GURUMURTHY, M.A., M.LITT., DIP. IN ANTHROPOLOGY,

Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras.

Jainism in the Tamil country :

Numerous Jaina and non-Jaina inscriptions have brought to light a volume of information which helps historians to estimate the contribution made by Jainism for the progress of South Indian culture. But, most of them do not give sufficient information on the Jaina system of learning in South India, unlike the epigraphical records which refer to the existence of Temple-Colleges in mediaeval times. However the inscriptions provide us with knowledge of the existence of Jaina monasteries, teachers, and their activities throughout the land and the amount of royal patronage and public support extended for the maintenance of the same.

The existence and influence of Jainism in the Tamil country prior to the dawn of the Christian Era is well borne out by a number of natural caverns with Brahmi inscriptions which once served as the abodes of Jaina ascetics. Besides the caves, there are also certain literary works like the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* which contain references to a number of Jaina centres in the Tamil country during the first few centuries of the Christian Era. The continuance of the religion after the close of the Śāṅgam Age in the Tamil country, even during the Kaṭabhra rule in the land and even later, is well attested by the literary works like *Dēvaram*, *Periyapurāṇam* etc., besides numerous epigraphs of the Cōḷas, Gangas, Pāṇdyas and other dynasties of South India. The influence of Jainism and its contribution to Tamil culture may be gleaned from the large number of literary works written in Tamil by Jaina authors during the period.

Jainism in the Karnāṭaka country :

Saletore observes "from a fugitive point, Jainism became gradually the dominant religion of Karnāṭaka ; and for nearly 12 centuries (second century to thirteenth century A.D.) it guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful and well known Karnāṭaka royal families ".¹ It is true that the Jainas were not merely the exponents of dogmas but acted as great champions and founders of kingdoms. The earliest political creation was the Ganga kingdom of the South. Even after the extinction of the Ganga dynasty, Jainism survived and continued under the influence of the two great powers, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Kadambas. The rulers of these dynasties were great patrons of Jainism and made liberal grants and endowments for the establishment of Jaina institutions. Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family was an ardent follower of the creed.² Similarly in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, Dantidurga honoured one of the greatest figures in all Jaina history-Akalanka (8th century) and also Kṛṣṇa II³ and Amōghavarṣa I⁴ figured as great champions for the cause and promotion of the religion. During the days of the Western Cālukyas it is said that the great Jaina Guru Vādirājasuri received a certificate of victory (*jayapatra*) from Jayasimha III. An inscription⁵ praising the *guru* records that "to gain the victory over the crowd of boasters in the assembly was a delight of Vādirājasuri and to write and give him a certificate of victory was a delight to the emperor Jayasimha.

The Western Cālukyas ruled for about six centuries and towards the end of the 12th century, two new powers came to the front, the Hoysalas and Yādavas. The Hoysala kingdom is considered to be the second creation of Jaina wisdom. Saletore says "twice, therefore had Jainism, which for ages had stood for

1. B.A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 35. A.S. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 99.

4. A.S. Altekar, *op.*; *cit.*, p. 88.

5. *E.O.* VIII, Nr. 37; See also translations, p. 142 and n. 2

ahimsa, caused political generation in the land before the rise of Vijayanagara - once in the first or second century and then again in the 11th century A.D."⁶ It is here we have to see that Jainism acted not merely as a religion or faith but more than that as a force which produced great leaders and writers in philosophy and admirable men and women in the field of writing. Besides the rulers, there were also certain feudatories who shared their responsibility towards the promotion of Jaina culture from the 8th century down to the end of 13th century A.D. The Jainas also received patronage from respectable citizens and trade corporations. For instance the great commercial association namely the 500 Svāmis of Ayyavole made liberal contribution for founding institutions of Jaina faith.⁷

Thus, the history of Jainism had a powerful impact and influence on the history and culture of the Kārṇāṭaka region right from the 2nd century A.D. and it may even be said that its history had an inseparable part in the history of some of the powerful dynasties which held sway in Kārṇāṭaka. During the period, numerous Jaina institutions were established throughout the country which stood for the promotion of *Dharma*, *ahimsa*, education and welfare and uplift of the nation.

Jaina system of education:

Sources - We are able to gather some details regarding the Jaina system of learning from the Jaina literature, though not from epigraphical records. No doubt there are a few inscriptions which furnish some information with regard to certain Jaina centres of learning and the scholarship and attainment of proficiency of numerous monks and nuns in various branches of literature. It is only literature that comes to our help in tracing some of the fundamental principles and factors of the Jaina system of learning and the organisation of their church life and study.

6. B.A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

7. *E.I.*, XIX, p. 25; P.B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, p. 220.

Palliccandam :

Palliccandam is generally taken to mean a grant of tax-free land either to a Jaina establishment or a Buddhist monastery.⁸ *Paḷḷi* in Tamil country may be taken to mean a school, but in the Jaina or Buddhist order, it may stand for a temple or a monastery (which was a school or a college). There are hundreds of inscriptions which record the grant of lands as *Palliccandam* to a number of Jaina institutions ranging from the beginning of the Christian Era down to the end of the Vijayanagar rule in the south.

Jaina Paḷḷis :

As in the case of Buddhist education, here too in the Jaina system, the Jaina *Paḷḷis* played a prominent role as centres of education consisting of a large number of monks, nuns and students. The Jaina monasteries were residential colleges, the members of which were provided with food, clothes, medicine and other facilities that were needed in their day to day life. The strength of monks residing in the monasteries sometimes runs to hundreds and even thousands. For example, it is gathered from an inscription from Tirunaṅkondai (South Arcot district) that the Jaina temple in the place was called *Narpattennayirapperumpalḷi* which may probably refer to the 48,000 monks residing in the *Paḷḷi*.⁹ We also hear of the Jaina *maṭha* at Siṅṅāmūr (South Arcot district)¹⁰ which had a valuable collection of palm-leaf manuscripts which clearly indicate the educative value of the Jaina *maṭhas*. In this connection, it may well be pointed out that "numerous Jaina establishments were veritable centres of learning and served as great *Vidyapiṭhas* from which emanated the light of knowledge which contributed to mass education and also gave specialised instruction to persons of royal families and of higher classes."¹¹

8. 83 of 1934-35; E.C. IX, Bn. 6a etc.

9. 381 of 1902; S.I.I., VII, No. 101.

10. M.E.R. for 1937-38, pt. II, para 76.

11. J.B.B., R.A.S., X, p. 237.

Jaina Monks:

The Jaina Monks were the pivot of the Jaina system of education. The Jaina nuns also took equal share and served as great spiritual guides.¹² The spread of Jainism and the promotion of education were entirely in the hands of these monks and nuns, who were all highly educated and versed in many lores. The monk was regarded as a symbol of learning and a scholar *par excellence*. P. B. Desai, has observed "more than anything else, the role played by the Jaina monks in the realm of learning is supreme and ever shining. He educated the rising generations from the rudimentary knowledge of three Rs. to the highest levels of literacy and scientific studies. He initiated the intelligentsia into the mysteries of literary art and inspired their creative genius. All this produced epoch-making results as witnessed by posterity. Some of the best and earliest literary productions in South India are from the Jaina poets and authors. The torch of learning once lit was incessantly held aloft and radiant."¹³ What the author has observed may well be proved in the light of some of the descriptive passages occurring in some of the Jaina inscriptions, which are highly in praise of the educational qualifications of some of the Jaina teachers of the South. In some of the inscriptions, the individual teachers are alone mentioned, while in others, details of their spiritual lineage are narrated to some extent. Though there are numerous records which describe the learning of the Jaina teachers, let us take one or two of them to serve our purpose and study. In an inscription of 1024 A.D.¹⁴ from Marol, the learning of the Jaina teacher Anantavīra-muni is described as having comprised all *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nighaṇṭu* (lexicon), *Gaṇita* (mathematics), *Vatsyāyana* (erotics), *Jyōtiṣa*, *Śakuna* (augury), *Chhandas* (prosody), *Manu* (law), *Gandharva* (Music); *alankāra* (rhetoric), *Mahākavyanayanātaka* (poetry and drama), *Adhyātmika* (philosophy), *Arthasastra* (politics), *Siddhanta* and *Pramāṇa*. Another inscription assignable

12. See Kaṭjugumalai inscriptions - Appendix.

13. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

14. *S.I.I.*, XI. No. 61, ll. 21-26.

to the middle of 11th century A.D.¹⁵ from Mulgand mentions two Jaina Grammarians Narēndrasēna and his pupil Nayasēna, both of whom were proficient in many systems of grammar, *Candra*, *Kātantra*, *Jainendra*, *Śabdānuśāsana* of *Sakatayana*, *Pāṇiniya Aindra* and *Kamara*? The king Kulōttunga III bestowed the honour of the title *Cakravartī* on a certain Jaina *ācārya* of Kōṭṭaiyūr as a token of his appreciation of the Guru's learning and work.¹⁶ Thus, the intellectual attainments of these *ācāryas* as gleaned from inscriptions bear out the statement made with regard to the qualifications prescribed for teachers in Jaina canonical literature. They were all selfless, possessionless and real servants of religion, Sarasvati and humanity. They acted as spiritual guides, confessors, teachers, advisers, physicians and even astrologers. The main reason for the successful spread of Jainism in the South was the attitude of the monks who moved so freely with the common people, mastered the languages of the regions in which they dwelt and believed in the teaching of their doctrines in the vernacular languages. They had completely identified themselves with the local population of various regions. The numerous *Sanghas* and other Church units of the Digambaras were in fact named after place names. The names of the Drāviḍa, Kāñcī and Koḷuttūra Sanghas themselves suggest that they were all named after place names.¹⁷

System of learning:

“Supplying food and other necessities of life to *Guru*, food and protection to the destitute, protection of life of all beings, medicine and medical aid to the needy and means of education and knowledge in the form of scriptures, books, schools, colleges and scholarships to all”¹⁸—are some of the salient features of

15. *E.I.*, XVI, No. 55, *ix.* 24-8.

16. *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 366.

17. S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, p. 134.

18. B. K. Sarkar, *Creative India from Mohenjodaro to the Age of Rama-krishna-Vivekananda* (Lahore, 1937), pp. 41-44.

Jainism, which made the creed popular with all classes of people. This system also fulfilled all the higher philanthropic, humanitarian, moral and intellectual needs of society. It is true that Jainism and its men strove hard for the promotion of educational activities among the masses and for the uplift of the poor in the country.

System of Co-education :

Numerous inscriptions from the south point to one of the most salient features of Jaina system of education, i.e., the system of Co-education run by the monasteries. The Jaina monachism gave all support and encouragement to the promotion of women's education in the country. Women were highly respected and allowed to occupy high positions in the monastic order. Besides being students and teachers they also took part in the administration of Jaina establishments. In one of the Karnāṭaka inscriptions, there is mention of a certain Jaina nun by name Huliabhajjike, who was the disciple of Sirinandi, who was in charge of the Jaina temple constructed by Bāladēvayya at Saratavura (Modern Soratur).¹⁹ As a rule, the male members of the monastic order were alone allowed to occupy such a position; hence this is interesting information which throws light on the role of women in the Jaina monastic life. Both men and women were allowed to stay and study the Jaina scriptures in the monasteries. There were also both men and women teachers; instances in which male students studying under a female teacher and female students studying under an *acarya* are met with in the inscriptions mostly coming from the Tamil country. The Jaina inscriptions from Kaṅgumalai,²⁰ a famous centre of Jainism, are the best examples in which we find references to teachers and taught belonging to both sexes, which bear testimony to the system of co-education prevalent in the monastic order in South India. In the monastery at Veḍal,²¹ there were about 500 students studying under a lady

19. *Bombay Karnāṭaka Inscriptions*, I, pt. I, No. III.

20. *S. I. I.*, V, Nos. 308 to 407.

21. *S. I. I.*, III, No. 92.

teacher, Kanakavīra Kuṇṭṭiyār, who was a student of Gunakīrthi Bhaṭāra. Thus, these inscriptions give us an idea to peep into the educational system which would necessarily have been advanced one. In the Karnāṭaka country also we hear of the Jaina nuns entertaining men as their disciples as in the Tamil country.²²

Nunnery:

Apart from the institutions consisting of men and women, it seems, there were also separate institutions specially meant for the promotion of women's education. They are called in the records *Peṇpaḷlis* which simply meant schools for women students; one such institution flourished at Viḷāpakkam during the first half of the tenth century A.D.²³

Teachers and Students:

The Jaina male teacher was called *bhaṭāra*²⁴ and sometimes *ācārya* which meant that he was a great scholar. The lady teacher was known by the term *Kuratti*.²⁵ The male students were called *maṇakkar*.²⁶ The women students were called *Māṇakkīyar* and *ṭillaikal*.²⁷

Strength of students:

It seems there was no strict rule regarding the number of students studying under one teacher. In the monastery at Vēḍal about 500 students are said to have studied under one teacher and in the Velāpakkam Paḷli there were about 24 students who

22. *I.A.*, XII, p. 102.

23. 53 of 1900; *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 56.

24. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 92, pp. 224-25.

25. *Ibid.*

26. See Kaḷugumalai inscriptions—*S.I.I.*, V, Nos. 310, 314 etc.

27. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 92, p. 224, 1.3.

were kept under the control of a single teacher. It seems therefore, that a teacher could keep as many students as he or she was able to conveniently manage.

Place of Study :

The place of study was called *nisihya*²⁸ and it was to be devoid of living beings and disturbing agencies. The *nisihyas* were nothing but monasteries which were generally situated in the outskirts of towns and cities, avoiding all sorts of disturbances.

Time of study :

According to the Jaina texts, the first and the fourth periods of the day were deemed fit for study. The study was suspended on certain unhappy or mourning days like the one when the ruler or a prominent person died. Study was also not conducted when there was lightning, eclipse of the moon or the sun.²⁹

Method of study :

The Jaina system of learning consisted of the following important aspects:³⁰

1. Recital of the sacred texts (*vāyaṇā*)
2. Questioning about the difficulties (*puchchaṇā*)
3. Repetition of the texts (*pariyattana*)
4. Thinking over it (*anuppenā*)
5. Participating in religious discourses (*dharma katra*)

28. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

29. *Ibid.* p. 184.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

These were some of the fundamental principles on which the whole Jaina system of education was based and oriented. More or less similar methods of study are also suggested by the famous Jaina author of the Cōla period, Pavananandi who has written a work on Tamil grammar, the *Nannūl*.³¹

Aim of study :

There are five reasons mentioned in the *Naya* text to explain why students are to be taught the sacred books, which are found suitable to all systems of learning.³² They are given below :

1. To equip the students with scriptural knowledge.
2. To increase the followers or the disciples.
3. For the dissipation of *Karma*.
4. To acquire the knowledge of culture and tradition.

5. To save the knowledge of the texts from extinction. Thus, the system had its own merits, which provided an opportunity to increase the number of followers and students as much as possible not only to propagate the doctrines of Jainism but also to save the country from the darkness of sin and illiteracy as also to retain the glory of the past namely the cultural heritage of the country.

Subjects of study :

With regard to the subjects studied in the monasteries, the Jaina inscriptions are silent ; however there is a reference to the study of Jaina scriptures and *Siddhantam* with regard to the monastery at Kaḷugumalai.³³ Astrology formed one of the subjects studied by the monks. The Jaina monks had mastered

31. *Nannūl sūtra*, 40;

32. Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

33. 116, 117 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No. 495. and 406.

astrology and astronomy to the extent that gave them an opportunity to command respect even from ruling sovereigns. The *Kadba* plates of Gōvinda III record that a grant of certain land was made in favour of a Jaina *maṭha* because its head had removed the evil influence of Saturn from which a certain feudatory prince was suffering.³⁴ Sridharacārya, a Jaina poet, claims to be the first writer in Kannaḍa on Jyōtiṣa Sāśtra. He wrote the work *Jātakatilaka* which mainly deals with astronomy and astrology.³⁵ Besides this information, the educational qualifications and the literary attainments of some of the Jaina monks in various lores, which we have already discussed, may give us indirect clue to the subjects of study undertaken in the monasteries. They not only mastered the subjects of religious importance but also took interest in the study of secular subjects like grammar, lexicon, prosody, mathematics, besides fine arts and other useful arts.³⁶ A volume of works has been produced on these subjects in various languages - Tamil, Kannaḍa and Sanskrit. The famous Jaina preceptor, Bhattakalanka, who had flourished in the 6th century A.D. for instance, is said to have been well versed in a number of subjects — religious, secular and fine arts. He is said to have possessed mastery in Grammar, poetics, prosody, drama, polity, astronomy, medicine, music, dancing, architecture, *mantra* and *tantra*. He was also a great exponent and scholar in these fields of literature.³⁷ Therefore, his attainments and scholarship in various subjects make us believe that the monastic institutions would have provided instruction not only in the religious dogma of their own but also in secular subjects and fine arts. It is also equally interesting to note that an inscription in Pallava Grantha and Tamil, found at Malayakkōvil mentions a Jaina teacher by name Gunasēna, who was a great exponent of the art of music. The inscription contains a label *Parivadini* below which are described *Gunasēnabrahmaṇaṇḍa vidya*.³⁸ *Parivadini* is an old kind of *vina*

34. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

35. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

36. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 53 ff; See also P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 138;

37. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

38. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, No. 4; See also No. 3.

with seven strings. It is also believed that the musical compositions of the Kuḍumiyāmalai and Tirumayyam inscriptions were all based on the treatise invented by Gunasēna.

Relation between the teacher and the students :

A good student must show respect to and implicit faith in his teacher. The teacher in turn must do all that was needed for the students, during their stay at the monastery. The relationship between them in general appears to have been very cordial and modest.

Debates and Discussions :

Philosophical and literary discussions were held in many parts of the country during the period from the 5th century to 10th century A.D., which was also considered to be a flourishing period in the history of Jainism atleast in South India. Though the discussions were quite hot, all the creeds wholeheartedly co-operated in accepting the victory or the defeat in a sportsman-like-spirit.

The disputation in ancient times was a mode of education which exhibited the scholarship and the literary attainments of the scholars of different creeds. These disputations were held in prominent public places in the city. Before the beginning of any disputation, a drum would be fixed in the place in which the discussions were to be carried on and any scholar wishing to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate would strike it by way of challenge to disputation.³⁹ The disputations were carried on in famous *viharas* and monasteries also. The disputations held by men of Jaina faith contributed much to make Jainism in South India reach its zenith.

Both literary and epigraphical sources point to the oratorical

39. M.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 30. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

power and skill in debates of a large number of a Jaina ascetic scholars of the times. To mention a few of them, Svāmi Samantabhadra deserves our attention first. His appearance in the South makes an epoch not only in the annals of Digambara tradition, but also in the history of Sanskrit literature.⁴⁰ He was one of the prominent *gurus* of early times and a brilliant disputant. It is said that he was the first orator to give an authoritative exposition of the *Syadvāda* doctrine.⁴¹ He was closely associated with the rulers of the Karṇāṭaka region (modern Kannaḍa) the ancient and the first capital of the Kādambaś of Banavāsi.⁴² According to one tradition, he is said to have secured the conversion of Śivakōṭi of Kāñcī to Jainism.⁴³ He is believed to have had discussions in various places—Pāṭali-putra, Mālava, Sindhu, Thaka (the Punjab), Kāñcī and Vidiśa (Bhilsa).⁴⁴ With regard to his date, there floats a lot of controversy and conflicting views; but he is believed to have lived in the 2nd century A.D.⁴⁵ Pūjyapada another scholar (7th century A.D.) travelled throughout South India and held many disputations in many centres and is said to have gone even as far as Vilheba (Bihar) in the North.⁴⁶ Akalanka from Belgola was another famous Jaina preceptor, who is said to have defeated the Buddhists in disputation at the court of king Himaśīṭala (of Kāñcī) and thereby proclaimed the expulsion of the Buddhists from South India in 788 A.D.⁴⁷ Akalanka is said to have been educated in the Buddhist College at Pontagai (Ponataka)⁴⁸ and disputed with

40. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, pt. 2, p. 406.

41. M. S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

42. J. P. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

43. *E.C.*, II, Int. p. 83.

44. *Ibid.*

45; J. P. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

47. Ramaswamy Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 31; also *E.C.*, II, No. 67.

48. *E.C.*, II, No. 67, n. 4; also Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, Intr. p. 40; B. Lewis Rice, *Coorg Inscriptions*, Intr. p. 7.

them in the presence of the last Buddhist prince, Himaśtala and confuted them. The prince later became a Jaina and the Buddhas who have come from Benares in the 3rd century A.D. were reported have been banished to Kandy.

The Jaina teachers were not only great debators but also masters of doctrines of rival creeds. For instance, we hear of Nilakesi's disputations with scholars of different faiths, held in different parts of the country.⁴⁹ She came out victorious in all the discussions. Similarly the Jaina monk Akalanka commanded universal respect and influence not only in the chief kingdom of the Western Gangas, but also in other parts of the country; this was due to his profound learning and versatile scholarship. He rose to eminence on account of his incessant practice of proclaiming and expounding the scriptures.⁵⁰ His disciple Bhaṭṭakalanka was not only versed in his own doctrines but also in the Vedic literature exclusively from the *Samhitas* down to the *Smṛtis*.⁵¹ The Jaina ascetic Puṣpasēna bore the title *paravādimalla*, a successful opponent of his enemies in discussions.⁵²

Draviḍa Sangha:

As the name suggests the *Sangha* would have taken its name after the region in which it was formed. According to Dēvasēna, the author of *Darśanasāra*, this *Sangha* was formed by Vajranandin, a disciple of Pūjyapada, in the year 536 of the Vikrama Era at Madurai.⁵³ But, according to epigraphical evidence, it is believed that its foundation would have taken place roughly in the middle of the 7th century A.D.⁵⁴ Saletore places the establishment of this *Sangha* in the last quarter of 10th

49. Nilakesi, *Kuṇḍalakēsi vāḍaccarukham*, *Buddha vāḍaccarukham* etc.

50. P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

51. *Ibid.*

52. 98 of 1923.

53. *I.A.*, XIII, ii, pp. 30-31.

54. P. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

century A.D.⁵⁵ However, its origin still remains a mystery to scholars. The name of this *Sangha* figures prominently in the Karnāṭaka inscriptions ranging from the 8th century to 13th century A.D.⁵⁶

The *Sangha* had its own divisions named *Pustaka gachcha* and *Nandi gaṇa*.⁵⁷ Its teachers seem to have commanded influence and respect in other parts of South India particularly in the northern parts of Karnāṭaka. An inscription from Belgola of the 8th century A.D.⁵⁸ mentions a teacher called *Paṭṭini Kuravaḍika*. Though the exact date of its foundation is subject to much controversy among scholars, its contribution to the development of Tamil literature and culture, would never be forgotten by the people of the land. It is to the credit of the *Sangha* that many Tamil classical works were produced which are at present considered to be valuable sources for tracing the social and cultural history of the Tamil country.

It may now be discussed in some detail, about some of the important Jaina centres which flourished as great seats of education, and learning in ancient times.

Kāñci

Kāñci flourished not only as a great centre of Sanskrit learning, but also as a seat of Jaina culture and learning from very early times. According to the *Sthalapurāṇa* of the Kāñci temple, Kāñci for ages, was a Buddhist and afterwards, a Jaina city.⁵⁹ A regular colony of Jains is said to have flourished in the locality known by the name Jina Kāñci, about two miles from the place.

55. B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 238, and n. 2.

56. P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

57. *E.C.*, VI, Mg. II; VIII, Nr. 36.

58. *E.C.*, II, Belgola, No. 25.

59. *Chingleput district Manual*, p. 109.

This Jina Kāñci is identified with Tirupparuttikkunṇam,⁶⁰ situated on the right bank of Vegavati river. It is being described as one of the four seats of learning (*Catus-Simhāsanas*) of the Digambara Jainas, the other three being, Kollāpura, Penukoṇḍa and Delhi.⁶¹ An early inscription from Kaḷugumalai⁶² refers to Jaina nuns hailing from this place as Tirupparuttikkunattikaḷ which clearly bears evidence to the fact that Tirupparuttikkunṇam was a famous centre of Jaina culture. A large number of Jaina scholars seems to have been mentioned in a palm leaf manuscript obtained from this place.⁶³ Samantabhadra (2nd century A.D.) and *Akalanka* (8th century A.D.) deserve mention among them. Mallisēna Vāmana, the author of *Merumaṇḍarapurāṇam* (a Tamil work), also figures in one of the inscriptions from this place.⁶⁴ He was the author of several works in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Tamil. He was conferred the title of *Ubhayabhāṣakavi Cakravartī* or "the poet-monarch" of the languages.⁶⁵

Vēḍal (North Arcot District):

An inscription of Nandivarman,⁶⁶ dated in his 14th year, refers to this village as Viḍāl and Viḍārpalli. As earlier mentioned the monastery at Vēḍal seems to have existed as an important Jaina institution consisting of a large number of students and nuns. It was evidently a nunnery. An inscription from this place dated in the 14th year of Āḍitya⁶⁷ records that there were about 500 students (*pillaiikaḷ*) studying under a lady teacher Kanakavīra Kurattiyār, who was the disciple of Guṇakīrti Bhaṭṭāra. Along with these students, it seems, there were also about 400 nuns

60. T.N. Ramachandran, *Tirupparuttikkunṇam and its Temples*, p. 1.

61. Burgess, *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, I.A., XXXII, p. 460.

62. 83 of 1894; *S.I.I.*, V, No, 372.

63. T.N. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-16.

64. 98 of 1923; See also 24 and 100 of 1923.

65. *Mēru Maṇḍara Purāṇa* (A Chakravartī's edn.) p. ii.

66. 82 of 1908.

67. *S.I.I.*, III, No. 92

living in the nunnery. According to the inscription, there seems to have arisen misunderstanding between the teacher and her students on the one hand and the 400 nuns on the other. We do not know, the cause for their quarrel, but later, it was put an end to by the intervention of the Jains of the locality, who undertook the responsibility of giving food and protection to the teacher and her pupils. The nunnery was also called *Kōyil* in the inscription. The record runs as follows :

*Guṇakīrti-bhaṭāra vaḷi Māṇakkiyar Kaṇakavīra (kk)
kurattiyaraiyum-avar vaḷi Māṇakkiyaraiyum tapasi
(k) aḷ nānūrruvarkkum koḷḷātamaiyal Ik (kōyi) r
piḷḷaikaḷ - Inuvarkkum vaḷi - ilarum kaṭṭūṭṭuvāmanōm.*

Viḷapakkam (North Arcot district) :

It is situated very near Pañcapāṇḍavamalai and once flourished as a great centre of Jainism. An endowment of a house and well, made by a nun, named Pattiṇikkuraṭṭi aḍikaḷ, a disciple of Ariṣṭanēmaḥaṭṭārar of Tiruppāṇmalai, towards the formation of a nunnery (*penṇaḷḷi*) in that place, is recorded in an inscription dated 945 A.D. during the reign of Parāntaka I.⁶⁸ It also refers to the supervision of the endowment by the committee of "twenty-four" which may be taken to mean either the 'village-committee', or 'the local Jaina committee', which supervised the Jaina temple and the *paḷḷi*. But, it is evident that just as seen in Veḍal, here also provision was made for the education of women.

Tiruppapuliṭṭūr (Cuddalore) :

This place was called Pāṭaliputra, in ancient times. It was a flourishing Jaina centre from about the 5th century A.D. to atleast 7th century A.D.⁶⁹ The Jaina work *Loka Vibhaga* is said to have been copied by Muni Sarvanandin in Pāṭalika (Pāṭaliputra)

68. *S.I.I.*, VII, No. 56.

69. R. Champakalakshmi, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

in about A.D. 458, in the 22nd year of the Pallava king Simhavarman. The authorship of the work is attributed to Mahāvira himself. It is also said that the work was translated into Sanskrit by Rishi Simhasuri who might have probably lived in an earlier period.⁷⁰ According to the *Periyapurāṇam*, the Śaiva saint Appar served as the head of the Jaina *Maṭha* in this place, under the name of Dharmasēna. But, later, the Pallava king, who was the contemporary of Appar destroyed this *maṭha* soon after his conversion from Jainism to Saivism. Similarly in the Karṇāṭaka country also, there existed a considerable number of Jaina monasteries and *Maṭhas* which once flourished as great centres of education and Jaina culture. Sravaṇa Belgola is the most important of all, which offered ready residence to as many scholars as possible hailing from different parts of the country. A large number of inscriptions from this place, give not only the names of the individual teachers, but also lineage of Jaina *Gurus* belonging to various *Sanghas*. Jainism had a continuous history at this place from very early times and even today, there are a good number of Jainas living in the place, which shows that the place was an important one in the growth and spread of Jainism in good old days. There are also a good number of Jaina establishments which tell us the tale of the activities of the Jaina monks who lived in them and strove hard for the promotion of literacy among the people. The Jains of today consider this place as a great pilgrim centre and are paying visits to see the existing Jaina establishments as also pay reverence to their departed *Gurus*.⁷¹

70. R. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 12.

71. See E.C., II wherein most of the inscriptions refer to Jaina gurus and their knowledge in a number of branches of science and arts.

APPENDIX

Jaina Teachers and their Male and Female disciples mentioned in the Kalugumalai Inscriptions

Sl. No.	Name of Jaina ācārya or teacher	His male disciple	His female disciple	Inscriptional reference	Published in S.I.I., Vol. V, No.
1.	Gunesākara bhaṭṭarar	Sattandēvan		21 of 1894	310
2.	Srī Vattaman of Srī Malaikkulam	Srī Nandi (Perumanakar)		25 of 1894	314
3.	Uttanandi of Srī Tirukkottāru	Santisēnapperiar		27 of 1894	316
4.	Baldevaḥkuravaḍiḷ of Srī Tirunaruvikōṇḍai	Kanakavira Aḍiḷ		28 of 1894	317
5.	Tōribhaṭṭarar	Sirubhaṭṭarar		36 of 1894	325
6.	Vimalacandira Kuravaḍiḷ of Tirukkottāru	Sāntisena Aḍiḷ		214 of 1894 101 of 1894	333 390

7. Śrī Kaṇakanandi- bhaṭārakar	Aditta bhaṭārar	52 of 1894	341
8. Śrī Kaṇandi tīrtabhaṭārar	Kanakanandi Periyar	56 of 1894	346
9. Śrī Kaṇandi Kanakānandibhaṭārar	Pūranacandiran	70 of 1894	359
10. Śrī tīrtha bhaṭārar	Iṭanechchurattuk- kurattigaḷ	80 of 1894	369
11. Śrī Tirumalaikkurattigaḷ	Enādikuttanan	81 of 1894	370
12. Kurattigaḷ of Śrī Maṇmai	Kurattigaḷ of Araṭṭa nemmi	82 of 1894	371
13. Śrī Pattinibhaṭāra	Kurattigaḷ of Tirupparatti	83 of 1894	372
14. Śrī Padikkamana- bhaṭāra	Pavanandi	91 of 1894	380
15. Tirumalaiyar Mōṇi bhaṭārar of Kōḍaikāttur	Dayabālar	94 of 1894	383

Sl. No.	Name of Jaina ācārya or teacher	His male disciple	His female disciple	Inscriptional reference	Published in S.I.L., Vol. V, No.
16.	Vimalacandran of Tirunattur	Yōgiyar of Kunnūr		95 of 1894	384
17.	Putpanāndi bhaṭṭarar	Perānāndi bhaṭṭarar		102 of 1894	391
18.	Kurattigaḷ of Perur		Mīḷalūr Kurattigaḷ	105 of 1894	394
19.	Kurattigaḷ of Kēdarkudi			106 of 1894	395
20.	Tirumalai Aratta nemi bhaṭṭarar of Vēppanūr			108 of 1894	397
21.	Araṭṭanemi bhaṭṭarar	Gūṇanāndi	Mīḷalūr Kurattigaḷ	109 of 1894	398
22.	Sendan of Eḷaveṇbaikkudi			106 of 1894	395
23.	Kurattigaḷ of Nalur Enādi Mahāna			115 of 1894	404

SECTION II : REPORTS OF SEMINARS

The Institute of Traditional Cultures conducted a seminar on "The Old and the New in India" on the 7th September 1971 in Room 48 of the University Departmental Buildings. The following is a report of the proceedings of the seminar.

PRESENT

Director : Dr. K. K. Pillay, M.A., D. Litt., D. Phil (Oxon).

Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P. inaugurated the seminar.

Dr. C. M. Abraham, Reader in Social Science, Department of Social Science, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. C. Balasubramanian, M.A., Ph. D., Lecturer, Department of Tamil, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru M. S. Bastian, B.E., 82, Pidariar Koil Street, G.T., Madras.

Prof. E. Divien, 19, Haddows Road, Madras-6.

Thiru L. Divien, 19, Haddows Road, Madras-6.

Dr. S. Gopalan, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. M. S. Gopalakrishnan, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Anthropology, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru V. Gnanasikhamani, M.A., Research Scholar, Tamil Department, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru S. Gurumurti, M.A., M.Litt., Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru K. R. Hanumanthan, M.A., Chief Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.

Thiru K. P. Krishna Shetty, M.A., M.L., Reader, Department of Legal Studies, University of Madras, Madras.

Dr. C. Kunjunni Rajah, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras.

- Thiru K. Mani, M.A., Assistant Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.
- Thiru N. Murugesu Mudaliar, M.A., 15, Dr. Sadasivam Road, T. Nagar, Madras-17.
- Thiru S. M. Muruga Vel, M.A., c/o Department of Social Sciences, University of Madras, Madras.
- Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao, M.A., D.Litt., Tagore Professor, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru K. Nambi Arooran, M.A., M. Litt., Additional Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.
- Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Nilesvar', Edward Elliotts Road, Mylapore, Madras-4.
- Dr. C. A. Perumal, M.A., Ph.D., Prof. of Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru K. Puvanakrishnan, A.I.C., Room No. 211, A. C. College, P. G. Hostel, Guindy, Madras-20.
- Thiru A. Raman, M.A., M.Litt., Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru S. Ramanathan, M.A., Lecturer, Department of Politics & Public Administration, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru T. S. Ramarao, B.Sc., M.L., Professor of International and Constitutional Law, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru V. Ramasubramaniam, 78, Venkatarangam Pillai Street, Triplicane, Madras-5.
- Thiru D. Sadasivan, M.A., M.Litt., Lecturer, Indian History Department, University of Madras, Madras.
- Dr. N. Sanjeevi, M.A., Ph.D., Reader-in-charge, Department of Tamil, University of Madras, Madras.
- Dr. A. Shankar Kedilaya, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Kannada, University of Madras, Madras.
- Dr. Shankar Raju Naidu, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Department of Hindi, University of Madras, Madras.
- Thiru M. Shanmugam Pillai, Tirukkural Research Department, University of Madras, Madras.
- Mr. Stephen C. Levinson, M.A., c/o Dr. N. Sanjivi, Tamil Department, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru A. Sundaramurti, M.A., 214/A, T. H. Road, Madras-5.

Thiru A. Swamy, M.A., B.L., Lecturer, Department of Ancient History & Archaeology, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru J. W. Thomas, 1/5, Ritherdon Road, Madras-7.

Thiru K. D. Tirunavukkarasu, M.A., M.Litt., Tirukkural Research Department, University of Madras, Madras.

Thiru M. N. Vedantham, M.A., Presidency College, Madras-5.

Dr. K. Venkatraman, Reader in Statistics, University of Madras, Madras.

Welcoming Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy and the invitees, the Director said:

Prof. K. K. Pillai: Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in welcoming Prof. Ruthnaswamy and all of you for this inaugural seminar. Prof. Ruthnaswamy needs no introduction for he is well known as a scholar, writer, thinker and politician. In spite of his advanced age, he maintains his reading, writing and thinking habits. I wish the younger generation, particularly of the University emulates his example. I shall not anticipate what he is going to say and I shall reserve my comments. On your behalf and on my behalf I welcome Prof. Ruthnaswamy, as also Prof. Sastri who was the previous Director of the Institute of Traditional Cultures. I now request Prof. Ruthnaswamy to inaugurate the seminar.

Prof. Ruthnaswamy: Gentlemen—It is a great honour to me to be requested to inaugurate this Seminar on a subject that must be of great interest to all of us living in this part of the world, especially in this part of Asia; because all Asian people face this problem, of old and new, seek to adjust the old to the new in as smooth a manner as possible and find out how old traditions could meet the new challenges of progress. Not only in Asia but in Africa also, this problem has to be faced, the problem of transition from the old to the new.

In order to understand the problem it is necessary to know some facts of the old. I am not going to recapitulate all of it. Let me first start with the fundamental fact of religion. Religion has retreated, faced by modern science and technology; and although the new philosophy of materialism has sought to banish religions from the lives of the people, only a very small section

of humanity has been affected by this growth of irreligion. Among most people religion has still a part to play. In the old it had a predominant part to play. In India a distinguished place has always been given to religion. No other country in the world has so many religions as India. India has always been sympathetic in her attitude to foreign religions. There has not been that antipathy to other religions as in other countries. We have not had those wars of religion and those periods of sustained persecution which occurred in many countries in the world. Religion in Indian history started with the synthesis of two systems, Aryan and other systems which had already existed, which may be comprehensively called Dravidian system. We find among the Central Indian tribes, as in Madhya Pradesh, religious beliefs of animism, worship of plants, trees, animals etc. Then they proceeded to advance towards belief in many Gods, personal Gods. That was what the Aryans found in India. They were a simple pastoral people from Central Asia; their belief was in one single patriarchal deity. When they came to India in small numbers they were overwhelmed by the various religious beliefs that already prevailed, and so they accepted various Gods like Siva, a native God. Archaeologists working on the ruins of Harappa and Mohenja Daro have found statues of a God resembling Siva. They even found figures like the Lingam but as time went on another strand of religious belief was developed by philosophers mainly from the north; they developed another theory which came to be known as Vedantic monism; it propounded the idea that God and the universe are one. This belief prevailed. Thus Vedantic monism of the learned and the polytheism of the common people faced each other. Then developed a tendency towards monotheism, that is, people believed in a personal God. Even some of the Upanishads, according to Dr. Zahner, speak of a personal God. In the South this belief found expression in the Bhakti movement. This belief in personal God was developed later by religious leaders of the north (Buddha of course did not believe in a personal God). Chaitanya taught in the middle of the 15th century and then Kabir, who tried to reconcile Hinduism with Islam; later Tukaram contemporary of Shivaji. Then came the influence of Islam and Christianity especially in the South. There were later contrary developments, the movement known as materialism, represented by communism. But Indian communism has been so far political and not anti-religious. Materialism has come to take the place of religion among the modern educated people. There are many young people who have turned to materialism not only on account of discontent with the traditional religion but also from economic motives which are so

predominant in modern Societies. People believe that India has been backward on account of concentration on spiritual matters and therefore it is time to turn to material progress for the realisation of material needs and desires. This philosophy however has not progressed among the masses. So far for religion—a reconciliation of religion between old and new.

Turning now to society and social organisation we find caste still predominant. About the origin of castes, there are various theories. Scholars like Macdonall said there was no caste in the Vedas—at any rate there has been no caste in Rig Veda. There are people who believe that caste owes its origin to the social organisation that prevailed among the Dravidians who were divided into small groups each following its own occupation. However that may be, or whatever may be the origin, caste came to occupy a dominant position in society. In fact, it is the social organisation *par excellence* of traditional India.

People were divided into castes and ruled by castes and castes prescribed not only the external behaviour but also domestic behaviour; it divided people by their very modes of eating and drinking and by taboos regarding marriage. Caste made Indian social organisation permanent, solid, fixed and rigid on account of the doctrine of Karma, which served to support it; thus caste was a social division based upon birth rather than on occupation. There has been social divisions in other countries but here in India caste was based on birth, and the system is fortified by the doctrine of Karma. One is born in a particular caste owing to his Karma which he cannot help. This is opposed to the idea of progress. One cannot go from lower to higher castes because his social position is determined by his birth according to Karma. No social rise was possible. The dark stain of untouchability has been washed out by legislation but still remains in the minds of caste-ridden people especially in the villages. Foreign influence came to temper caste in course of time. Muslims believed in brotherhood of man; this and British influence were responsible to water down the rigidity of caste. And then came Gandhi and his influence on the caste system. One great vice of the caste system, was untouchability. After Independence, laws have been passed against this; the Constitution does not recognise untouchability. Moreover an Act has been passed in Parliament which makes practice of untouchability a criminal offence. Before that, temples excluded the entry of some on account of caste. The caste system still continues in the village.

But the caste taboos about marriage still continue among the educated classes of Hindus. To that extent caste is opposed to national unity and progress.

A great reform that Mahatma Gandhi brought about was the rise in the status of women in society. He brought women into his political movement and as a result, they came out from seclusion. Besides Gandhiji's influence there are other influences against caste. The introduction of large scale industry and factory system also tended to loosen the bond of caste. Firstly, industrial labour was recruited from villages; people gave up their villages and started living in chawls, busties, etc. in cities like Bombay and Calcutta living side by side forgetting their different castes. But industrial labour continued to have contact with villages. After the labour season is over the village industrial labourer goes back to the village where his family still lives. It is only in recent times industrial population has become a permanent feature of Indian urban society. Caste has not lost its influence in villages and it still persists in the villages in India. It is only in towns that the hold of caste has become loosened.

Even in politics caste still plays a prominent part. Certain minorities were asked to give up their communal separate electorates on the eve of Independence and when the Indian Constitution was being framed, they were told that communal electorates would cease. Caste plays an important part in the political system at the time of election. People are chosen for certain electorates on account of the predominant caste in that electorate. A man is chosen as a candidate not because he is the best man available but because he is the best vote-getter and that because his community is predominant there. Most of the political parties get their candidates through because their candidate belongs to the predominant caste. In spite of all these difficulties and drawbacks of castes there is one thing good that is to be said. It signifies and symbolises the importance of the Society as against the State. In fact Society from ancient Hindu times has been more important than the State in India. Everything was done by Society. This is a great legacy that the caste system has given to modern India; Society and voluntary social organisation have an important place in a free State. Only in Communist countries does the State organise social welfare service. In England, Voluntary societies played a greater part in social welfare works. A Dictionary of voluntary service in England showed nearly 100 voluntary social organisations supplementing the work of the Government. In the field of laws of marriages and

succession Indian legislation has tried to bring about a uniform law for all Hindus.

India as you know is politically divided into a number of States. There were attempts to bring the political units in India into one unit by Asoka, Chandragupta and in the South by the Cholas. All these attempts came to nothing on account of distance and somehow they failed. Thanks to Britain this unity has been achieved. The heptarchy in England was displaced by a Central government by Norman invasion. Immediate conquerors of Britain were able to achieve unity. This unity was sacrificed at the time of Independence when India was divided into two States by partition. Religion was still strong to bring about the partition; it was the religious attitude of certain politicians that brought about this partition.

Another great factor that brought about a revolution in the political behaviour of the people of India is the introduction of adult suffrage. Although some people may criticise the utility of the bestowal of adult suffrage on an illiterate population, yet it has achieved something to awaken political consciousness among the people. It is evident in the long queues even in women at the time of election. This testifies to the political consciousness of the masses. We owe it to Gandhiji's political movement.

New ideas must be built upon the old. That is what history teaches. A sudden break from the old is not good. So it is by a peaceful synthesis between the old and the new that the real progress of the country could be achieved. Therefore we must integrate all these new movements resulting from Indian contact with the west, with the old. Economic factors can help this integration. The old caste system based upon birth must give way to new social organisations and social systems. That is, caste must be replaced by class. Class is based upon work, people in different walks of life, in different professions and different social activities—each of these groups would form a class. People belonging to one profession could form themselves into a class following a branch of economic life—classes of labour, entrepreneurs, professionals, lawyers, doctors etc. This view of converting a caste into a class I developed in my Franco Endowment Lectures.

Then Education—Education must play a great part in integrating the old into the new. Much money has been spent on education but looking from the results, in villages and in small minorities, one wonders whether this education has been on the

right direction and whether the masses have been made literate. 75 per cent of the population are still illiterate even after 20 years of Independence. Industrial progress of a country is mainly due to the right type of education given to the Industrial workers to improve their output and their methods of work. Mass education in villages must be brought about also by the mass media of communication, the cinema, theatre and the press. -

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : Mr. President, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, Friends—With characteristic lucidity and brevity Prof. Ruthnaswami has covered a wide ground, and it would be impossible for succeeding speakers to follow him over the whole of it. The relation between the old and new is an old problem in India as elsewhere. Our ancient poet Kalidāsa said: 'Not all that is old is good, and nothing that is new is necessarily bad'—*Purāṇam ityēva na sādhu sarvam, na cāpi kāvyam navam ityavadyam*. This implies that the presumption is generally in favour of the old as against the new, at least according to the great poet.

Life is everywhere a process of continuous change, and the talk of 'unchanging east' is a fallacy. But it must be conceded that the pace of change may differ considerably with time and place. On a long view, it would appear that India, and generally Asia as a whole, have been slower to adopt new manners and methods, as compared to the western lands. On a short term view it often appears that there is an unceasing conflict between established order and attempts at innovation. But sooner or later an adjustment is reached and both the old and the new subsist side by side in varying degrees.

In the field of religion for example the oldest Vedic hymns are still in use in several ceremonies and the gāyatri mantra has not lost much of its appeal to all Hindus. But in the course of long centuries other faiths have come into the land. At first the Hindu faith itself gave birth to protestant religions like Jainism and Buddhism which had much in common with the original faith though they developed features of their own, particularly one feature unknown to original Hinduism - viz - devotion to a personal founder, Mahavira for Jainism and the Buddha for Buddhism. New legends grew around the personalities, and in time their number was multiplied into numbers of Jains and Buddhists. Possibly under their influence Hinduism also laid increasing stress on the personal aspects of its gods and evolved a scheme of avataras and their exploits. The old idea of sacrifice fell into the background, and the worship of personal deities in temples

and festivals gained the upper hand. The Rāmayaṇa and the Mahābhārata became the moulders of national conduct and ideals, and the Purāṇas incorporated many aspects of the worship of personal gods and their exploits. The epics were translated or adapted in the numerous languages of India; most notable among them are the Tamil version of Kamban and Hindi (Brajbhāsha) version of Tulsidas, which are very popular even today and are expounded from numerous platforms. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Gandhi in their writings have laid stress on different aspects of our religion and social customs and festivals dominated by it.

Christianity is believed to have come in the early Christian era with St. Thomas. But its more massive impact came in more recent times after the advent of the European nations into Indian trade and politics. Islam came in the medieval period and the Muslims, mostly converts from Hinduism, grew in such numbers as to be able to bring about the creation of a separate land for themselves in Pakistan at the time India gained freedom from British rule. Both Islam and Christianity in India have yielded to many influences from the surrounding ocean of Hinduism and have developed features unknown to these religions elsewhere. Even they have not escaped, for instance, the influence of the ubiquitous system of caste.

The mention of caste brings us to the social and economic aspects of our national life. Orthodox theory mentions four varṇas as comprising the whole of society, but in practice historical forces have created a multiform system of castes to the elaboration of which many factors have contributed. We cannot go into the details of this vast subject here. Our economy is often described as a simple rural economy rooted in agriculture but this is by no means the whole truth. We have only to think of the Dacca muslins and Benaras silks to see that our handicrafts advanced to a very sophisticated degree of perfection before the modern period of machine industry started. But the old never dies out and we find today the bullock cart by the side of the tractor and schools and hospitals of Ayurvedic and Unani medicine by the side of modern medicine and surgery. The treatises of Caraka and Susruta contain details of medical and surgical treatments from which even modern advanced research has much to learn and is in fact learning.

Lastly in the sphere of politics, while the concept of Bhārata Varsha gives a glimpse of the ideal of Indian unity, and on one

occasion the Mauryan empire nearly realised that unity in fact, the general rule was the existence of many states of varying sizes. The tradition of fiftysix states of Bhārata Varsha is nearer the actual course of history before the unification of India under British rule. The village has always been and still continues to be the unit of administration at the lowest level. But the growth of modern means of communication and of new industries makes for the growth of large cities and freer intercommunication between different parts of India. The spread of education and modern democratic ideals are favourable to the comparatively larger units of the modern Indian federation and a growing part in politics for the masses of the people. In the old days monarchy was the rule, now it is practically unknown.

Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao: It is difficult to demarcate the Old from the New, for the simple reason that modernity is a matter of outlook and not a characteristic of an age. The values in ancient India centred round the human problems and evaluated all the values in terms of human perfection. Their thinking was *radical* in the fundamental sense of the term i.e. going to the roots of the problem and not trying to solve it at a surface level. The ancient Indians saw that man's destiny was not confined to this life, its rounds of pleasures, glittering prizes and gruesome experiences but transcended it. The destiny of man was to work out completely the entire potentiality of man. He must realise the essentially *human* in him. Religion for the Indian mind consisted in the fact of man becoming human. They set a great store by it. In their traditional scheme of the four-fold values, they saw a pattern. The instrumental values of possessions (*artha*) and desire (*kāma*) are mean values. They must be pursued not as ends but must be governed by the behests of *Dharma* and oriented to *mōkṣa*, spiritual realisation. The ancient Indian thought valued the nature of man as a bearer of values and not merely as a physical organism. They distinguished the human from the animal by a value sense and a power of reasoning. The faculty of reasoning has produced in our day our modern science and technology. It has created a little paradise on earth of physical comfort and plenty. The very triumph of reason has made men see nothing behind man and his triumph. Indian philosophical thought and religious scripture have disclosed to the world the limitations of reason. It is at best a faculty. It cannot prescribe ends, but can be an effective instrument for working out a given end. Further, it admits of different grades of excellence and there is no conclusiveness in respect of its deliverances. Hence the Indian mind admitted truth revealed

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and not arrived at. Revelation is the disclosure of experienced religious truth by the method of intuition and reasoning. Tagore observed "Reason is all blade and no handle". The Brahma Sūtra declares that logic is inconclusive (*tarka Apratiṣṭhānāt*). The ancient Indian scheme of values stressed the need of the supreme spiritual values.

The New India of Science, Secularism and Democracy and Socialism has not only built on the world values but also added to it and given it new direction. The moderns have not carried the ashes from the past altars but the flame. They have not made a fetish of the past nor an incubus on the present. They have looked upon the past in its inspiring ideals. Ancient India concentrated on the supreme spiritual ideal; modern India is keen on the establishment of the concept of social justice (*dharma*). They feel that the *mōkṣa* ideal must not by-pass or negate the concept of *dharma*. The modern Indian ethical thinkers and its renascent savants feel that organisational defects and rickety social institutions and lack of social concern are responsible for the moral anarchy among men, societies and nations. They seek to remedy it. They want us to devise ways and means to translate the spiritual values into economic, moral, educational and social spheres; to make it a reality and not a mere slogan for show. In modern India the stress is on a positive view of life and a growing concern for the quality of life man leads here and now. They look upon *Samsāra*, not as a *snare*, nor as a halting inn, but as a succession of spiritual opportunities. We must give moral values a social existence in the form of sound institutions and laws. The distinct contribution of modern Indian philosophic thought is on the stress on human values. The modern age lacks the depth of the ancients but its range is great when compared to the old. The renascent Indian thinkers have built on the past, by devising new instruments and institutions. The inspiration of the old is there but its constraints are removed. It is not merely old wine in new bottles. It is appropriate drink for the changing times.

Dr. C. A. Perumal: What is commonly called the old and new becomes in social science parlance 'tradition and modernity'. But however we may call them, when it comes to the point of definition, we can see that the pure old or the pure new is a plain abstraction. Such abstractions may be necessary, by and large, as tools of analysis, but an intellectual aid to distinction should not carry overtones of an actual conflict. Social life does not function in terms of abstractions and when we postulate

tradition and modernity as abstract categories, which by themselves cannot explain the working of Society, we are forced to invoke a third category to link them both and we call this *continuity*. Now, if we take an institution like caste, does it represent tradition, modernity or continuity? I am afraid this is where social science vocabulary breaks down and instead of proving an aid to understanding social processes tends to obscure them. Let us not now get into controversies like functionalism or the new structuralism of the French school. I only submit that there is always an intellectual disposition to anatomize phenomena and forget their physiology, so to speak.

Pioneers of Social Science like Bagehot and Durkheim were physiological enough in their comprehension, though when they are purveyed second-hand in text books they look like veritable anatomists.

Now, I am not pleading for caste but only for understanding it and let us ask about the wretched thing "how it ticks" as Bagehot asked about the English political system. Then, we will see, I am sure, that the caste system is not old and outdated but very modern and what in fact keeps our political system going. We may succeed in establishing a classless society, despite all the heavy odds against it, but I am afraid caste may survive class, without standing in the way of democracy or socialism.

We may call this politicization of caste but other than giving it a name, it does not go far to explain the very versatile adaptability of caste. Somehow we have persuaded ourselves that caste can't be or shouldn't be political but we are shocked to find it emerging into politics and refusing to get out of it. In sheer helplessness we call it names like casteism and revivalism. But I submit the resilience of caste in contemporary India does not necessarily demonstrate revivalism. It is not the kind of thing that we accuse the Jan Sangh of.

We might suspect caste of revivalism only if we continue to think of caste as a hierarchic set-up. On the contrary, castes in contemporary India are not much exercised about social superiority or inferiority; they are, nevertheless, acutely conscious of a difference among them, proceeding from a sense of belonging or identity that each one has. Caste may be biologically false, even as race, but, I submit, it belongs to the sphere of social or cultural genetics and caste is a genetic group in this sense.

Notions of purity and pollution to which the caste system was traced have virtually gone but the sense of genetic identity persists and in the current context caste is able to function as an effective pressure group. And so long as caste has this vital role in our public life, it need not and, I may add, it cannot be extinguished. But unless we shed the notion of the Indian as *homo hierarchicks* (Prof. Dumond's *Homo Hierarchicks* of the Indian caste system) and begin to see the altered context of caste we would be confounding ourselves with rigidly structured notions of tradition, modernity and continuity.

Dr. Kunjunni Raja: We are the inheritors of the entire human civilization. The scientific and technological progress of the human race has been built up gradually, each generation starting from where the previous generation ended; and this has been possible not only because of the invention of precise and powerful instruments helping man's power of observation, but also because of the power of the wonderful language which has enabled man to communicate to his fellow beings and to the future generations the results of his experiences and observations. As a result of this the civilisation that we enjoy today is the cumulative effect of the continuous human effort of the entire past. The new is not only built of the old, but to a great extent it is the sum total of the old, or the past.

Besides the common heritage, there is a special heritage for us as Indians. As Max Muller pointed out years ago "there is in fact an unbroken continuity between the most modern and the most ancient phases of Hindu thought extending more than three thousand years". It is definitely not an isolated existence; India had continuous and living contacts with Iranians, Greeks, Chinese, the Arabs etc. and absorbed the best from their civilisations without losing her own individuality. A Macdonall says, "If her basic culture survived these contacts there must have been something in the culture itself which gave it the dynamic strength to do so, some inner vitality and understanding of life".

When we come to the field of philosophy, religion, pure literature and other fine arts we cannot claim the same kind of continuous evolution and progress that we find in the fields of science of technology; A 1971 Model car may be Superior to a 1970 model and is definitely superior in efficiency to a first century model cart. But the work of a modern poet or philosopher or artist need not necessarily be superior to that of an

ancient master. The seers of the R̥gveda, the Philosophers of the Upanisads and poets like Vālmiki and Kālidāśa are in no way inferior to the modern mystic, philosopher or poet. Often it is the other way and a modern genius had often to fight his way for recognition; even Kālidāśa had to say in his time.

Purāṇam ityeva na sādhu sarvam

We have a great and rich heritage of the past. This burden of the past has its good and bad points. As Nietzsche says, "Not only the wisdom of the centuries, but also their madness breaketh out in us. Dangerous is it to be an heir"

Though the present generation has witnessed two great wars' they did not actually come to our soil. We have had no cataclysmic revolutions to break all our shackles with the past. We have had great changes in the political, social and religious fields; but most of these were brought about gradually, and by peaceful means without completely breaking off the connections with the past.

Indian tradition has always advocated the Varnāśramadharmā which stands for the *status quo*. But the modern tendency for revolutionary changes is often conflicting with the traditional approach. The caste system and untouchability have been removed; but it reappears as the Scheduled castes being the privileged community and the Brahmins being often treated as the depressed class. That the influence of caste has not been completely rooted out from society will be quite clear if one looks into the matrimonial columns of the dailies. And at the time of elections the religious and caste prejudices are often brought in by the candidates for getting votes.

India may be a secular State; but religion still plays a dominant role here. Sai Baba and religious monks, as well as those who give religious discourses throughout the country are drawing vast crowds, not only from the ordinary masses, but also from the educated and fashionable people. It is obvious that religion has been supplying some deeply felt inner need of the human nature, and the vast majority of people cannot do without some form of religious belief. (Astrologers are still having a busy time, not merely with the ordinary people, but even with V.I.Ps.).

Monism, monothesis and popular polytheism and even atheism had a place in the R̥gvedic period, and the Bhakti movement is also very old. At different times in the history of our country

different aspects have been given emphasis by the reformers ; Sankara's Advaita Philosophy, however great it may be, is not the only one philosophy of India. The one idea on which everybody agreed was what Vyāsa said :

Naiko rṣir yasya matam pramāṇam

India did not accept a dictator not only in the political field, but even in Philosophy or religion.

Dr. N. Sanjeevi: He spoke in Tamil; he observed that the talk of Prof. Ruthnaswamy was somewhat disappointing to him because it covered too wide a range to make it possible to pose particular problems for discussion at the seminar and suggest solutions for them. On the question of caste he was not convinced by the arguments of those who spoke in its favour and maintained that caste in some form or other is bound to survive. The caste system in his opinion is 'a fraud perpetrated on society. It can go and will certainly go ultimately and there are evidences of its liquidation at work. Prof. Ruthnaswamy while condemning the caste system, based on birth, advocated in its place a class system based on profession or occupation. But in Dr. Sanjeevi's opinion it is only the social divisions based on occupation that pass to-day as castes based on birth. In the face of the condemnation of class division by the communists and their plea for a classless society, he could hardly imagine what kind of class the Professor has in mind. He would certainly welcome the formation of workers' unions on the basis of occupation. Such unions would indeed be of great advantage to the members of the organisation drawn from different professions. But to think of building a class on that basis would be futile. The Professor lamented the disappearance of many traditional values. True; but it is inevitable, and we can try our best to preserve them so as to suit modern exigencies; and persons like the Professor could show the way to do it in seminars like this. Lastly, the Professor opposed socialization of property, and he advocated education of the people and the eradication of ignorance through mass media. In this matter Dr. Sanjeevi felt that there is no better mass media than the mother tongue. Why then, should the Professor and his friends oppose instruction through the medium of the mother tongue in the primary, secondary and University stages of education; and why should they defend the claim of the students for their right to opt for a medium of their choice.

T. S. Rama Rao : In recent years, a noticeable change seems to have occurred in the attitude of the politicians and even of the common people towards an important heritage of British rule, viz. the rule of law and principles of liberal democracy. The older generation of Indian leaders and intellectuals who were mostly lawyers, bred in the common law tradition, valued greatly the inheritance of British jurisprudence and adopted several of its basic notions and principles in the Constitution of India and its chapter on Fundamental Rights. Thus the common law notion that property cannot be confiscated without payment of adequate compensation, which has been enshrined as a Fundamental Right (binding even the Legislature) in Art. 31 of the Constitution is being gradually abandoned and confiscation of property belonging to selected sections of the the people (who happen to be inarticulate minorities) like, for example, the Princes in relation to their Privy Purses, is being considered as essential in the interests of social progress. And when the judiciary of India sticks to a liberal interpretation of Fundamental Rights it is being dubbed as reactionary and strident calls are being made for getting a "committed" judiciary in the country. Freedom of the Press is also being sought to be curtailed on the specious ground that the Press is being owned by monopolists. It should be noted that such communistic and anti-property views, are contrary not only to the British jurisprudential tradition, but to the traditional values of Indian society. Thus, the very first verse of the *Isopanishad* enunciates the maxim 'covet not another's wealth'. In this sense there has really been a tendency towards the abandonment of the traditional values and of many of those embodied in the Constitution of India, drafted hardly two decades back.

Another disturbing new political phenomenon is the increasingly powerful role of casteism and communism in the political process. Adult franchise, in the context of the caste ridden society has served merely to strengthen the hold of casteism in politics and governmental affairs. The rule of law seems to be supplanted by the rule of castes and groups as political power is now shared by the different castes and groups, in proportion to the voting strength commanded by each caste and group, and caste and not the individual, has become the unit of the political society. In view of this, I would agree with Prof. Perumal and disagree with Prof. Sanjeevi on the role of caste in present day Indian society.

Dr. M. S. Gopalakrishnan: Professor Ruthnaswamy has given us a comprehensive account in his approach towards an understanding of religion, social organisation and political organisation relating to themes old and new with reference to India. To me, as Durkheim pointed out, religion is a 'personification of society'. We see this very well brought out in all the rites and rituals performed in every religion pre-literate or literate found in the different cultures of the world. Myths have always certain elements of reality within them. As the structure of society had to change with influences from within, and also due to the effects of formal education and changes brought forth as a consequence of these, many of the social institutions cannot but change. But the change did not affect the lingering of some of the old themes in the new. We find that along with the great traditions of the past, India has adapted many of the alien culture traits it has been assimilating through the centuries. The continuity of the old in the new is undeniable. Though in every case this may not be an assimilation it is nothing short of an adaptation to changing circumstances. Sometimes we see words being used out of context and meanings read into them. Man's intelligence is not inherited. It is environment and education and the ways by which an individual becomes socialised that determine his mental structure. Individual liberty is vital for any kind of constructive thinking and action. If an individual were to lose his freedom individual disorganisation would be the result. So social integrity and solidarity of the society are to be preserved.

Sri D. Sadasivan: The caste system is an institution of great complexity. It has its root deep in history, and even to-day it governs the lives of Hindus in several important respects. The popular division of the society into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, the Vaiśyas, the Sūdras and later on Untouchables is easily understandable. But this is not actually the caste system. This is only *Varṇa* and this is universal throughout India. The real unit of the caste system is not of the *varṇas* but *Jāti* or *Kulam* which is a very small endogamous group enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual and judicial autonomy.

The attempt to fit this *Jāti* or *kulam* of any area into the popular division of *varṇa* is a very difficult one. It is possible to some extent to indicate who are Brahmans and who are non-Brahmans anywhere in India, but, it is difficult to identify the other *Varṇas*. It is not an exaggeration to say that "caste" constituted the very foundation of the society and religion formed

its superstructure. Every action of the people was controlled and guided by these two factors. An individual is born into a sub-caste, namely *Jāti* and this is the only way of acquiring membership of the sub-caste. The orthodox believe that birth is not an accident. They believe that *Karma* and *Dharma* determine the birth of an individual. The idea of *Karma* teaches a Hindu that he is born in a particular caste because he deserves to be born there. The actions he performed in the previous birth deserved such a reward or punishment as the case may be. If he had performed good deeds in the previous birth, he would have been born in a particular caste. Thus, the caste acquisition comes to be an index of the state of an individual's soul.

The other important concept is *Dharma* which has many meanings, one of which is "that which is right or moral". The existing moral code is identified with *dharma*. A man who accepts the caste system and the rules of his particular sub-caste is living according to *dharma*, while a man who questions them is violating *dharma*. If he observes the rules of *dharma* he will be born in his next birth in a particular caste, rich, whole and well endowed.

Another striking feature was that each caste was traditionally associated with an occupation. Till recently, the bulk of the castes continued to practise their respective traditional occupations, though agriculture was common to all castes. The members of a sub-caste regarded their traditional occupation as the natural one for them. The skill required for the practice of one traditional occupation was a secret which was not easily divulged to members of other castes. It is interesting to find that among the sub-castes the observance of certain festivals and rites varied, though there were some common values too. Villages which usually consist of a few sub-castes are mutually dependent on each other and also possess certain interests in common.

To the question whether the caste system had flourished in the Sangam period or not scholars hold different views. Some scholars are of the view that the ancient Tamil classics speak only of the regional divisions such as "the mountain region (*kurinchi*), the pasture-land (*Mullai*), the temporary dry, waterless arid patches (*Palai*), the agricultural region (*Marutam*) and maritime tracts (*Neydal*). They hold the view that in this five fold division of land and the corresponding occupations, there was hardly any mention about caste divisions. But such a view seems to be

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unacceptable for, the Tolkappiyam, the oldest Tamil grammatical treatise, not only makes this stereotype land division, but also indicates that the inhabitants of those regions were classified as *Melōr* and *Kiḷōr*. It is very hard now to establish the motive, or the real significance of these divisions. "Yet there are grounds to think and believe that there existed in early Tamil society a division of society analogous to the caste system"¹.

Dr. K. K. Pillay is also of the same view. He says, "what appears probable is that there emerged among the Tamils social divisions based upon their occupations which were determined largely by the region in which they lived. Gradually, the Kuravar, Aiyar, Vellālar, Maravar and Paradavur, the people of Kurinji, Mullai, Marudam, Palai and Neydal, respectively tended to become endogamous groups"². According to scholars of eminence, it is known that the basic tenets of caste system can be traced as far back as the Sangam period. Thus the division of Hindu society into castes is the most striking peculiarity of its social life and has no parallel in any other country in the world.

The word "caste" seems to have been borrowed from the Portuguese "casta" which signifies properly "breed". Emile Senart writes: "When the Portuguese entered into relation with the people of the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese observed that the Hindus were divided into a great number of exclusive hereditary groups distinguished by their special occupations. They were graded in a sort of hierarchy, the upper groups refraining with superstitious care from all intercourse with those considered more lowly. It was to these sections that the Portuguese gave the name of Castes"³.

The Buddha and Mahāvira, the two earliest reformers of India aimed to achieve equality among the various sections of society. But their efforts failed to make any remarkable result in the caste-ridden Hindu society.

In modern times, certain far-sighted thinkers raised their voice against the age-old customs. Raja Ram Mohan Roy can be considered as the father of this movement. South India did not lag behind North India in this respect. The idea of equality of

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1. E. SA. Viswanathan—Thiru V. Kalyanasundarar's Concept of Caste—*Tamil Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 3, July-Septr., 1964).
 2. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XL, December, 1962.
 3. *Caste in India*—Translated by E. Denison Ross, p. 1.

mankind was not a strange thing to the Tamils. In fact Tiruvalluvar, the immortal poet of the Tamils, expressed in unequivocal terms equality in birth thus: "All human beings have birth common to them, but differ as regards their characteristics because of the different qualities of their actions" (Chap. 98, *Kural* 2). Even Ramalinga Adigal (1823-1874), a great socio-religious leader and a mystic poet of the Tamils perceived the defects of the caste-system and advocated a casteless society. He observed that even temples were not free from caste-prejudices; so he established a common prayer hall at Vadalur in South Arcot district, known as the Vadalur Sabha where all could go and worship, irrespective of caste or other considerations. Among those who worked for the eradication of the evils of the caste system, particular mention may be made of the Poet Subramania Bharati, Thiru V. Kalyanasundaram and Thiru E. V. Ramaswami Naicker in Tamil Nadu. The eradication of the caste system was advocated by all sections of society, such as scholars, reformers and religious leaders. Bharati, a Brahmin by caste not only criticised the behaviour of the people belonging to the higher caste but also preached against the caste system itself. His views on the age-old caste-system have been very clearly stated in his book of poems entitled *Bhāratīyār Kavitaikal*. Tiruvarur Viruttachalam Kalyanasundaram was a vellāla by birth, a community considered next in superiority to the brahmins. E. V. R. or popularly called 'Periyār' also hails from one of the noblest and wealthiest families of Tamil Nādu.

Thanks to ceaseless efforts made by our social reformers and the spread of western education and influence and the consequent legislation against the evils of caste, all the most objectionable features of caste can be said to have definitely disappeared.

Hindu society is a pluralistic society which found in the caste system the most expedient method of accomodating peoples professing differing faiths and following diverse practices, while ensuring the acceptance by all of a common ideological framework in the caste system. The caste system is certainly open to attack from the stand-point of modern egalitarian democracy, and perhaps in the long run it would have inadvertantly encouraged narrower group loyalties to the detriment of the wider loyalty to the nation. But equality even in the modern world is more often an ideal rather than a reality. The Indian caste system is no exception. In its actual working through the ages it was neither so good and perfect as the orthodox advocates maintain nor so evil and

degrading as its critics, particularly some Christian missionaries hold.

Of the two essentials of caste, *jus connubi* (prohibition of inter-marrying) and *jus commensality* (prohibition of interdining) the latter has disappeared and the former has slackened its rigidity; yet inter-marriage takes place very rarely, that too in urban and city areas only. The adherence to traditional occupation is fast fading, except in rural areas. There are powerful forces which tend to loosen the grip of caste in many spheres of social life. Education is no longer a privilege of a particular group of caste. To-day the educational system is far more open both in principle and practice. To-day there are many areas of life which are becoming progressively "caste-free". The strongest argument against caste is its untenability by birth. Except this the caste system has definitely lost its evil features. Whatever the evils of caste it has to be remembered that a sort of division of society is inevitable. Some advocate a division by class instead of caste by birth. A casteless and class-less society is indeed an ideal but such a society will be a cry for the moon. Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy admits that the system did for India what Christianity did for Europe. He says: "It (caste) kept society distinct from the State"⁴. In spite of political vicissitudes, it preserved the stability of Hindu society. Even A. L. Basham holds that the caste system enabled the Hindu to retain its cultural individuality substantially under foreign domination. He thinks that though the caste-based inequality in society was given religious sanction, yet in no other part of the ancient world were the relations between man and man so tolerant as in India⁵. Even Mahatma Gandhi felt that the four-fold classification of caste would satisfy the basic needs of society, and warned that any further division would be a serious blow. He also explained that by caste division he meant only the duties assigned to different sections of society, but did not include any privileges on account of birth. To presume that caste denotes any privileged status of an individual, he said, was contrary to the spirit of Hinduism. Gandhiji also held that "restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriages were accidental aspects, rather than an integral part of varṇāśrama-dharma"⁶.

4. Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy: *India from the Dawn*, p. 46.

5. A. L. Basham: *The Wonder that was India*.

6. E. SA. Viswanathan—Thiru V. Kalyanasundarar's Concept of Caste—*Tamil Culture*, Vol. XI, No. 3, July-Sept. 1964).

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN INDIA

The caste system thus has its undeniable virtues which however cannot exonerate its defects. Like the two cardinal principles of Hinduism, namely, Karma and Theory of incarnation it is one of the unique features of Hinduism. One should not come to the conclusion that I advocate its continuance. It is one of our ancient systems lasting for more than 3000 years. I only urge you to think dispassionately, what was that strength that enabled it to sustain so long. That strength seems to be its inherent spirit of adjustability and accommodative nature. Let me conclude, as Percival Spear pertinently pointed out, "This is the great question before Hinduism today, to prune and cut, or to replant altogether, to change or not to change? Can Western ideas be grafted on to the parent Hindu stem, or must there be a fresh planting altogether?" As a student of Cultural History of India, I refrain from giving an answer to it for I do not believe in speculative History.

Sri V. Ramasubramanian (Aundy): In his succinct survey of the old and the new in modern India, Prof. Ruthnaswamy has committed himself to one controversial issue—viz. that the Hindu caste system must be replaced by a class system without adducing enough convincing reasons therefor. He did not care to explain what he meant by the term 'Class'. And he was rightly questioned by Professor Perumal for the choice, because the veteran parliamentarian himself had condemned unequivocally the 'class-war' ideology of the communists from many a political platform. Prof. Ruthnaswamy most probably means by 'class' not the ideology of class-war but only a flexible re-adjustment of the social order based on professions, ways of life and economic factors, other than birth. On such an interpretation of the term, will not 'class' based on birth, exist? The followers of the various denominational religions inherit their 'ways of life' from father to son. And each of these religious communities are independent castes in the fullest sense of the term. And is he asking Christians, Muslims, Jains, Hindus and Sikhs to forget their religious exclusiveness and take to class exclusiveness?

I deliberately use the term 'exclusiveness', because that is the crux of all systems of social organization. Even if a Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Sikh brotherhood organization were to be formed, those who join it as members automatically develop an exclusiveness and disallow non-members to enjoy the same privileges as

themselves. The polarisation of this exclusiveness leads even to the excommunication of non-conformist members or to their voluntary defection or resignation. We have thus, in the political field, the Congress (R) class, the Congress (O) class, the Socialist Class, the Swatantra class, and so many other so-called democratic classes, practising the much-condemned 'exclusive rigidity' of caste, without being hereditary. Exclusiveness is thus the pivot of all organizations in general. And if this so-called party system develops, by some irony of fate or concatenation of circumstances into a hereditary vested right, you have a full-fledged caste system. Communal representations in legislatures, reservations of seats for the so-called 'Harijans' and scheduled castes, and the formation of such negative castes as the non-Brahmin and the Anti-Brahmin, based on the accident of not being born in the Brahmin caste, are all portents that foretell the perpetuation of the evils of a truncated 'caste system'.

Christianity is a conglomeration of a multitude of castes, based on sectarian, racial and linguistic differences. Islam, Judaism, Sikhism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism have all the same characteristics. Matrimonial alliances between any two of these communities are permissible by law in many parts of the world, as intercaste marriages in India is considerably greater than that of inter-religious marriages elsewhere. And yet, some slogan-mongering critics choose the Hindu caste system alone as their target of attack, leaving national, religious, racial, linguistic and political exclusiveness scot free!

Let me not be misunderstood as a supporter of, or an advocate for, the caste system. Far from it. But I was born into it. Nature gave me no choice. And I am also aware of the many evils inherent in, as well as imported into, the caste system of the Hindu. But when I observe the same evils in Christian, Islamic, Buddhist, Hebrew and such other religious communities also, I am led to think that they are inevitable in all human social organizations. Citizenship, inheritance of property intelligence quotients, high-yielding seed-strains, breeding of cattle, poultry and even race horses and white tigers—everyone of these aspects of life is governed by the laws of heredity. And when mankind tries to scientifically regulate its own system of breeding and multiplication, a caste system develops. And it is an expression of a universal law of genetics, inherent as some bacteria are. Each and every bacterium has its own useful function in the economy of nature. Physicians use even the deadly cobra-poison and many

varieties of fungi as antidotes to diseases. Just as there are uses and misuses of the domestic dog, there are uses and misuses of caste. You don't annihilate all dogs, simply because some of them are apt to develop rabidity. If caste had become an absolutely antisocial system, hated by every thinker in India, it would have vanished centuries ago. But it did not, and I am afraid, it won't. Why?

India was the first country in the world to evolve the caste system out of a casteless, promiscuous, matrimonial chaos. India has been a cauldron, wherein various races, tribes, languages, and ways of life were thrust in and boiled for milleniums, not mere centuries, and the caste system emerged out of it. But you see the same caste system emerging in South Africa, Rhodesia, America, Britain, Nazi Germany, and Israel, where even certain citizens were and are debarred from public conveyances, public schools, public hotels, bathing pools and even public latrines by law or by usage. And these countries are but a century or two old in the history of humanity. When they too become at least two milleniums old they are sure to have a full-fledged caste system too.

And, again, I beg to draw your attention to the rapidly growing convention and practice of reserving new appointments to sons, daughters, brothers and nephews of employees in the railways, post and telegraph departments, Defence services and even commercial firms in India. Is that not the beginning of caste based on birth?

From the Vedic Kshatriya, Viśvāmitra, downwards, all superficial observers of 'caste' had voiced their invectives against it, and chosen the Brahmin community alone as their target of attack. With what result? They succeeded but in creating new castes, without abolishing the old. This reminds me of the old-fashioned dream of political philosophers to establish a universal language—an Esperanto—which resulted in the establishment of one more language in addition to the older ones!

'Varṇa-Samkara' or the 'Confusion of Castes' is the old term for caste-mixture in Hindu terminology. Viśvāmitra was perhaps the oldest intellectual rebel to voice forth his feelings of inferiority-complex against the Brahmin caste. Failling in his attempt to pull it down, he wisely shifted his tactics and succeeded in raising himself to the caste of a Brahmin! But his disciple, Kalmāshapada, continued the attack and even killed a few

hundreds of Brahmins, including a son of Vasishta, by drugging himself into a state of demoniac frenzy. But that frenzy itself effectually deprived him of his own virility and he became childless. Ironically enough, the Brahmin Vasishta himself had to perpetuate Kalmāshapāda's dynasty through the latter's queen!

The *Mahābhārata* relates the incident of another 'Varṇa-Samkara'. After the annihilation of the Kshatriya caste by the Brahmin Parasurāma—a reverse process of anti-casteism, all sorts of people began to consort with all sorts of women without discrimination. Inheritance laws became disorganized and food and dress habits and manners became causes of litigation and disorder everywhere. And Sri Rama, a Kshatriya, had to step in to reorganize the caste system.

The Buddha and Buddhism were the next to indulge in the pastime of caricaturing the caste system through their propaganda against the Brahmin community. With what result? Buddhism had to seek asylum in places outside the borders of India.

A more realistic phenomenon is referred to in a Sātavāhana inscription of the 1st century after Christ. It refers to an attempt of a Brahmin Emperor, Sātakarṇi, to put a stop to the 'confusion of castes' then prevailing in his domain. He calls himself 'a unique Brahmin' (Eka Brāhmanah) and declares that he had succeeded in preventing this confusion by suitable legislation. And yet, he himself had married a Scythian Princess of the line of the Gujarat Kshatrapas! Historians were wondering at these apparently irreconcilable facts, unaware of the fact that that was the system obtaining in Kerala till very recently, and perhaps even now, by which a Brahmin can marry any lady from any caste, but the offspring belongs to the caste of the woman. Similarly any man from upper caste can take a wife from a caste lower than his and the offspring belongs to the caste of the wife. This anuloma system, existing in Indian legal codes from Vedic times, seems to have been strictly enforced by the Sātakarṇi.

Now, I ask you, was this regulation of caste mixture irrational? It may be argued that it was unjust to the high caste women, because it prevented them from marrying men from the lower castes. But it was rational, nevertheless. If a reformer were to correct this injustice, he must aim at an amendment and not to destroy the whole structure. History records that those only who attempted to destroy the structure had to leave India.

Caste survives through marriage, endogamic as well as exogamic. Children automatically inherit the caste of either the one or the other of their parents. All state laws recognize such an inheritance, in all parts of the globe, even where there is no caste system. As Prof. Perumal has quite sensibly pointed out, unless you abolish freedom of choice in marriage by force or by penal legislation, you cannot abolish caste. Lovers must be prevented by law from choosing their own life-partners and the State must take over the power of settling wives and husbands on needy persons as they do cultivable lands and live cattle on the landless! This drastic step may still abolish caste only for some time. Incompatibilities will ultimately force the settled couples to part company and go back to their original environments. Apart from the attacks of all romantic intellectuals who delight in tales of elopement and svayamvaras, human society will become but a series of collective cattle farms. But there too, a rationalistic scientist will emerge to discover and develop a Brahmin breed, a Kshatriya breed, a Vaisya breed and so on, each having some unique and utilitarian characteristics.

I agree with Prof. Perumal's views on the problem of caste.

Conflicts between the old and the new in modern India do not, however, confine themselves to the caste system alone. They exist everywhere in the world in every walk of life. The clash of outlooks between the older and the younger generations, between mysticism and rationalism, between under-population in Europe and over-population in Asia and Africa, between sex-regulation and promiscuity, between democracy and autocracy, between capital and labour, and between the intellectual and the physical worker are several other aspects of the old and the new in India, which could have been analysed and discussed more profitably in today's seminar without wasting time and energy on such an unsolvable problem as caste. These conflicts, however, resolve themselves, as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri remarked, ultimately as links in the continuity of culture in an orderly society of nations. It is true that sometimes even bloodshed ensues in the course of these conflicts. But that too is one of the fires that help to forge the chain of continuity of culture.

Nevertheless, it is idle to dream of abolishing the old and forging the new. They co-exist—the one as the invisible basement and the other as the visible superstructure of a building. The old and the new are thus concepts that help us to analyse and

understand life as we see it, and not independent entities pitted against each other. They are as inseparable as the three dimensions length, breadth and thickness of an object, each having no absolute existence in reality. Thank you.

Dr. A. Shanker Kedilaya: The words 'old and new' are not so simple to define. The eternal values are expounded in the sacred books of India by our sages. The values of our age-old tradition and culture have to be understood and adopted by the young.

We find at present-day the development of atheism in the young. This is reflected also in the verse literature in Kannada of the modern period, especially of the post-independence period.

The prevalence of traditional conventions in literature, and predominance of religious and moral thoughts are found in Kannada literature upto the end of the nineteenth century. The works were mostly in verse and the themes were taken from the purāṇas or epics. The modern poetry which had its dawn in the beginnings of this century has departed from the old or medieval poetry in many ways. It is influenced both in form and theme by English poetry. Here the old metres and the poetic conventions are discarded. Blank verse is preferred. The themes are taken from everyday-life. Thus we find in the modern poetry the disappearance of the orthodoxy and the tradition found in the old poetry. In the 50s and 60s of this century we find the rise of another school called 'Navya School' in modern poetry. The poets of the 'Navya School' have gone a step further in that they have discarded everything old and have resorted to imagery and symbols for forceful expression. Any drab or insignificant thing is taken as the theme. A search light to the evils of society is thrown by the help of imagery and symbols.

From these we can feel the transition from the old to the new and we can know how the gulf between them is widening.

There is a growing indifference towards our Indian tradition and culture by the young. This has to be taken note of and steps have to be taken to see that the young generation does not lose its moorings, forget our glorious heritage and fail to make use of it in their lives. This responsibility lies with the leaders of our Independent India.

Prof. Ruthnaswamy in his reply to the discussion said:

There were a few questions on which I would like to make some observations. With regard to the preservation of all good

things in the old Hindu religious life, certainly I want the domestic discipline of Hindu life to be preserved. I like the old disciplined Hindu life. But that is now being destroyed. The parents do not exercise the discipline over their children that they used to exercise. The piety of the Hindu home is being destroyed. Another great belief of Hinduism I would like to be preserved is the belief in universality of all creations not only of human beings but of animals, birds and everything that is created, a sympathetic attitude of man not only towards fellow human beings but also to all creations of God. With regard to Prof. Perumal's remark that there must be tradition and progress and there must be caste, I agree that progress should be consistent with the tradition. There should be continuity between traditional beliefs, customs and ideas and new beliefs that tend towards progress. I do not admit that it was dominant among the Christians although I do admit that caste has a place in certain parts among Christians but not to the extent of extinguishing their religious beliefs. In the Church there is unity. It is true that some backward places followed casteism among Christians in regard to marriages etc. But religion gradually destroyed caste, among Churches in India. Till some years ago there was a division of caste Christians and non-caste Christians in the church. Prof. Sanjivi was critical of my suggestions that class should replace caste. My contention was that class is a social organisation which is not based upon birth but upon the occupation of one's work, not based upon the vicious system of birth. I want caste to be much more flexible. He belongs to the later school of thought that believed and did some work in destroying the caste system. As a matter of fact, in communist countries there is no caste. But an Yugoslav ex-minister, Djilas, has written about a new class arising in the communist countries, the class of bureaucracy that has enjoyed all prestige that the old autocracy used to possess. Once the class system is formed there will be more progress than under the caste system. We should not allow absolute rule by political or social organization and not allow individuals to be reduced to the position of atoms. I would warn you of the danger when individuals atomised, would be at the mercy of the powerful State. But social organisations and classes must be organised freely so that they would be able to put up a fight against the State.

Director (Dr. K. K. Pillay): Winding up the seminar he said: "I thank Prof. Ruthnaswamy who led the seminar and all those who participated in it. I would like to make a few observations. Dr. Nagaraja Rao said that it is difficult to demar-

cate "old" from the "new". So far as India is concerned, the "new" started with the advent of western institutions and western ideas, from about the 19th century. History shows that there is an important difference between India and countries like Japan, China, Indonesia, Thailand and South East Asia in regard to the 'old' and 'new'. In the latter countries the revolutions or changes that took place simply did away with the 'old'. India is unique in adapting herself to the 'new'. She did not throw overboard her traditions, when switching to the "new". She has stood for the State, society and for progress. Look at Gandhiji; he was a product of the West and the East. His culture and philosophy had its roots in the ancient tradition of India although in certain directions some of his ideals were revolutionary. India, therefore, is on a different footing. She has assimilated into her culture many foreign elements.

The discussion in this seminar took a decided turn towards the problem of caste. It has its roots deep in India and it has entrenched itself in her social and political life. Caste has done its work in olden days; but it has had an unfortunate development in more recent times. It is necessary for us now to adapt ourselves to the new conditions; and I welcome Prof. Ruthnaswamy's suggestion of 'class' in the place of hereditary caste. It is not desirable to hold to caste based on birth and claim hereditary privileges. Tremendous changes have taken place during the last 50 years in the caste system in India, particularly in South India, and in another 50 years more changes are bound to take place.

We have had a very lively discussion and again I thank Prof. Ruthnaswamy and those who participated in the discussion. Those who had no time to speak may send their scripts to me. They will all be processed and published in the Bulletin of the Institute.

SECTION III : BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES

(Note : Titles of books and periodicals are in italics ; books are listed first and then articles, all in alphabetical order).

Abbreviations

<i>ABORI</i> :	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
<i>BRMIC</i> :	Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture
<i>BSOAS</i> :	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
<i>E & W</i> :	East and West
<i>JAOS</i> :	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JASP</i> :	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan
<i>JGJRI</i> :	Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute
<i>JSAS</i> :	Journal of South East Asian Studies

ART

INDIA :

Grundwell, Albert ; *Buddhist Art in India* ; (Revised and enlarged by Jas Burgess, pp. VII + 228, New York. Publishers. Augustus M. Kellet ; *Rev* ; *JAOS* Vol. 91 No. 1, Jan.—1971, p. 163).

This is a reprint of the 1965 edition, depicting the types of Indian Art, going back to third century A.D. It represents Indian Art at its highest.

Sharma, Brajendra Nath ; A Unique Bronze Image of Bharata in the National Museum, New Delhi ; (*E. & W.* pp. 120 to 121):

This is a unique image, since, till now, we have not come across an image of Bharata, brother of Sri Rama carrying the wooden sandals on the head. Seven such illustrations, in art plates, are given, showing Bharata, in the garb of an ascetic, living like a recluse, poorly dressed, and awaiting the arrival of Sri Rama to Ayodhya. The image is the outcome of a fusion of Chola and Vijayanagar art suggesting it as a 14th century master-piece,

Sisodia, Viṣṇu; A Jain Goddess from Rajasthan; (*E. & W. news series*, Vol. 19, No. 3-4, 1969, pp. 410 to 412):

Among a number of icons found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is to be found one, made of brass, cast by the *cire perdue* process. of about 16.5 C. M. in height. It is surmised that it must represent Trisalā seated in Padmāsana with right hand in cinmudra and left holding a kalasa. This icon, said to be that of Mahāvira Thirthankara's mother is placed side by side with that of Siddhārta, Mahāvira's father. Both the icons are nude, a concept, perhaps borrowed from tribal Indians, who displayed nude figures.

HISTORY

INDIA :

Paṇḍitamārtāndah, Ācārya Śrī Hanumatprāsada Sastri; *Kāśmī-retihasah* (in Sanskrit prose); Ed. & Published by Dr. Mandana-misra, Sri Lalbahadur Sastri Rastriya Sanskrit Vidyapitham, Delhi, 1968, pp. 1+14+310; Price Rs. 15; Rev.; *ABORI*; vol. LI, Parts I to IV, 1970, pp. 261 to 262,):

The book comprises XX chapters dealing with the history of Kāśmir from early times to the present day and is appropriately dedicated to Dr. Karan Singh the ex-Maharaja of Kāśmir and the Chancellor of the Vidyapita. It gives an account of the natural scenic beauty of the land, the home of the famous sect of Saiva Śiddhānta, a summary of Rājatarāṅgiṇī, a list of other Hindu Kings and an account of Islamic rulers, of the Dogras and of its calamitous condition when Pakistan invaded it. The Sanskrit style is flowing and mellifluous.

Sharma, J. P.; *Republics in Ancient India*, c. 1500, B. C. - 500 B. C. xviii, 278 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968, Price Guilders 51. Rev. *BSOAS*, Vol. XXXIV, Part II, 1971, pp. 416-417,):

A critical study of Buddhist canonical Literature has brought to light the existence of Republican institutions in North India during the life time of Buddha and Mahāvira. The author has taken up here only those in North East India leaving the others in North West for future consideration. He deals specially with the terms samiti, sabha and Vidatha appearing in the oldest literature in this context studied with reference to republics of Vaisali, of the Vajjian Confederacy, of Videha, Cakya, Malla and

others. The reviewer feels that though such republican or semi-republican states existed, yet the material is not adequate enough for the author to build up a structure of republics in ancient India. The four types of republics which he distinguishes are based on slender foundations.

Agrawal, J. N.; Some observations on the Mehrauli Iron Pillar; *ABORI*, Vol. 11, 1970, Parts I to IV, pp. 189-191):

Not far from Qutb Minar stands an iron pillar 23' 8" in height and weighing about 8 tons. It bears an inscription in Brahmi of the 4th and 5th centuries A. D. We come to know, from a study of the inscription, that it was set up as a flag staff at the shrine of Viṣṇu by King Candraraja, whose exploits are recorded therein. It is the considered view of the author that the inscriptions refer only to this massive iron Pillar at Mehrauli and not to Qutb Minar. In support of his conclusion he quotes from the inscriptions found in the other pillars at Besnagar, Bhilsa and Eran.

Bhattachary, S. C.; Emperor Asoka—A Restudy; (*JASP*, Vol. XV, No. 3, December, 1970, pp. 175 to 184):

The aim of the author of this paper is to show that the traditional view of Emperor Asoka as both a missionary Buddhist and great Emperor is not wholly true when judged from the only source, namely, his edicts. They proclaim only a moral and ethical code and the desire of the Emperor to base his administration on principles of equality of justice to all. No Megasthenes came to his court nor do foreign writers Greek and Latin, of his period, make a special note about him. In the interest of peaceful administration, he only promulgated certain codes of conduct common to Hindus and Buddhists alike. The Buddhistic works extolling him are of uncertain date and suffer from eulogistic references which make them not fully reliable. Some historians are inclined to think that Asoka was a Buddhist. This is a question which permits an intensive study.

Ojha, K. C.; The date of the Arthasāstra; (*JGJRI*, Vol. III Parts 6 to 9, pp. 743 to 746.):

The verse at the end of the treatise, Arthasāstra clearly indicates that it was originally written by Kautilya in the Sūtra style and that subsequently Viṣṇugupta made a redaction in its present form. It refers to a civilization and facts later than

the 4th century B.C. Kāmandaka who owns him as his teacher was his younger contemporary. Judged by these aspects, one has to conclude that though this political literature was initiated in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, in its present form, it was reshaped in the 6th century A.D.

S. E. ASIA :

Tarling, Nicholas; *A Concise History of South East Asia*; (Frederick A. Praeger New York, Washington and London, 1966. pp. XVI 334 maps, bibliographical Notes and Index; Price \$ 7.50; Rev.; JSAS, Vol. I No. 1, 1970, p. 106).

As one engaged in teaching in the Universities of Australia and New Zealand, the author has had ample scope to study the history of the neighbouring regions at close quarters. The three broad periods of study i. e. (1) S. E. Asia from the earliest beginnings to 1760; (2) From 1760 to 1942 and (3) from 1942 to 1965 have been covered in detail and the last section, in particular, is well done. Such familiar themes of S. E. Asian History as unity in diversity, the key importance of geographical factors, the frontier character of the region and the interaction between external influence and internal conditions are extremely well covered. But one feels that the interpretative side of the work is out-balanced by a heavy weight of concentrated factual information.

LITERATURE

GERMANY:

Jost, Linde (Ed. & Translator); *Sprueche Der Inder* (Sayings from India); (Published by Wieshadener Graphische Betriebe, Germany; noticed in page 13 of *German News* of 15-5-1971):

German interest in Indian Literature and Philosophy still persists as it is a continuous process. This volume, ninth in the Series "Wisdom of the Nations" is very handy and attractive and is a storehouse of wisdom. Verses from Sanskrit epics and ancient Literature of the Hindus are selected with reference to their intrinsic moral and social worth. Each verse selected, reflects the philosophical and ethical wisdom of the Hindu seers and savants who have left a legacy of verses of practical worth. The German translation for each verse is very faithful to the original and is well worth remembering. The study is sure to make deeper understanding of human nature and the precepts embodied will make life richer.

INDIA :

Aitha, K. Parameswara (Ed.); *Stotra Samuccaya a collection of rare and unpublished stotras*: (The Adyar Library Series, Vol. 99. 2 volumes, pp. XVI; 309; XIX 386, Madras; Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1969,; Rev. BSOAS, Vol. XXXIV, Pt. I, 1971, pp. 165-166).

The first volume contains a number of hymns in praise of Gods of Śiva pantheon while Vol. II contains hymns to Viṣṇu, Lakshmi and to miscellaneous groups including Sarasvati, Sūrya, Hanumān, Sāmba and Harihara. The works are on the Gods of South Indian shrines and bhakti to them. The *Indirāsataka* is a Nirosthya while the Rama Mattooha stotra employs the complex Dvādasaprāsa. The poems are charming ones, often using pun on words. The introduction by Dr. V. Raghavan is enlightening.

Joshi, S. D. (Ed. & Tran.): *Patanjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. Samarthāhnika*; (Publications of the Centre of Advanced study in Sanskrit Class C No. 3. Pp. XIX-32-223 Poona; University of Poona, 1968. Rev.; JAOS. Vol. 91, No. 2, 1971, pp. 315 to 316).

Sūtra 2:1:1 of the Mahābhāṣya, which is a commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* constitutes an *Āhnika* by itself, called *Samarthāhnika*. The work of the editor lies mainly in the translation and explanation of the text. This has been done with clarity, making the nearest approach to explaining what Patanjali means in this Sūtra.

Kailasapathy, K. *Tamil Heroic Poetry*: (Pp. XV, 282, Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1968, Price 65 sh. Rev., BSOAS. Vol. XXXIV, Part I, 1971, Pp. 164-165).

This is a comparative study with numerous examples of early Tamil metrics and composition techniques. A detailed exposition of bards and bardic tradition is also undertaken. *Puram*, *Aham* and *Ettuttokai* are studied with an interesting parallel from Welsh Poetry. The author demonstrates that Tamil heroic Literature was composed for and within an aristocratic group in Society. The author points out that many of the themes were conventional and that similar feats were attributed to two or more rulers according to the allegiance of the poets.

Ludwik, Sternbach (Ed.): Vyāsasubhāṣitasamgrahah. The Vyasa Subhasita Samgrahah. (Pp. XXXVI + 15 The Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 193. Varanasi. Chowkamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1969 Price Rs. 10/-. Rev. *JOAS*, Vol. 91, No. 2, 1971, Pp. 312 to 313).

This is a collection of Subhāṣitas (wise saying) in anuṣṭubh verses based on two manuscripts from Madras and Ceylon. The present version according to the reviewer must have been redacted in South India. It has close connection with South Indian Subhāṣitas. It consists of 98 verses and it has been critically edited. The book is a good addition to nīti literature.

Nadarajah, Devpoopathy: *Women in Tamil Society, the Classical Period*: (University of Malaya, Dept. of Indian Studies, Monograph Series No. 15 x. 189, pp., Kuala Lumpur, Faculty of Arts, University of Malaya, 1969, M\$. 10; Rev., *BSOAS*. Vol. XXXIV, pt. 2, 1971, pp. 460-61).

The *Aham* literature in Tamil provides ample scope for studying social aspects of life of that period. The author deals with love, courtship, marriage, women and religion, women in society, women and fine arts as depicted in *Aham*. etc. The study is very interesting. References from *Paripādal* and *Kalittogai* also would have enhanced the value of the work,

Tagore, Rabindranath; *One Hundred and One Poems*: (London, Asia Publishing House, 1966, pp. xxxii + 183; Rev. *E. & W. N. Series* Vol. 19, Nos. 3-4, 1969, p. 528):

The poetic genius of Tagore is the outcome of the fusion of three main elements, namely the traditional Indian-heritage, the time spent with the simple folk of Bengal and the power to assimilate western culture. This selection is typically representative of the poet's intimate lyric impetus and his superhuman experience. The introduction by Humayun Kabir is highly enlightening.

Wasson, R. Gordon: The Soma of the Rig Veda: What was it? (*JAOS*. Vol. 91, No. 2, April-June 1971, Pp. 169 to 186):

A number of Hymns of the Rig Veda and those of the IX mandala in particular glorify the Soma, which goes unidentified. Some substitute creepers are now being used; but they don't satisfy the requirements. A number of attributes of the Soma are used as a plant or creeper without roots, fruits, flower, branch,

leaves or seed. The one plant that satisfies these requirements is the fungus fly-agaric or *Amanita muscaria*. L. The author advances a number of proofs, internal and circumstantial, to show that by Soma the seers must have meant the fungus growing in marshy places. Eight plates are furnished to illustrate the parts of the fungus.

PHILOSOPHY

INDIA :

Das, Rashvihar; *Introduction to Shankara*; (pp. XXXIV, 156, Caicutta. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968, Price Rs. 15/- Rev.; JAOS. Vol. 91, No. 1, Jan-March, 1971, pp. 156-157):

The book, which, in part, translates freely Shankara's commentary on the Brahma Sūtras is primarily intended for one who knows English. The author shows that Advaitism does not present a consistent philosophical system. The value of Shankara's contribution to philosophy lies in his critical and negative approach. The author makes some comments on the Kantian philosophy as bearing some resemblance to Shankaras's.

Gupta, Anima Sen; *A Critical Study of the Philosophy of Rāmānuja* (Varanasi-1, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1967, XXXII, 264 pp; Rev. E. W. N. Series Vol. 19-Nos. 3 and 4, 1969, p. 526):

Sri Rāmānuja's contribution to the spiritual glory of India is unique in that he ably voices forth the views of the Purvācāryas like Bodhāyana, Tanka, Dramida, Guhadeva, Kapardi and Bharuci. His Bhaktiyoga, being the vehicle of the individual soul to the Divine, is a way of understanding, not something halfway between monism and dualism but a sympathetic vision justifying dualism monistically. This aspect is studied critically by the author to pinpoint the Viśiṣṭādvaita approach in the field of epistemology, metaphysics, ethics and theology.

Johnson, Clive (Editor): *Vedānta: An Anthology of Hindu Scriptnre, Commentary and Poetry*: (Harper and Row, New York, 1971, pp. 243, Price \$ 6.95: Rev. BRMIC, Vol. XXII No. 10, October 1971, pp. 421-422):

This anthology serves the need of the East more than that of the West. The coverage is pretty wide, including excerpts from Hindu Literature from Rig Veda to Rāmāṇa Maharṣi, with

reference to Sruti, Smṛiti, Sūtras, Purāṇas, Tantras, Yogas etc. Quotations are also given from Saint Thiruvalluvar, Bhartṛhari, Kabir, Tulsidas, Gāndhī, Tagore and others. This selection is a model, revealing samples of maturity.

Nath, Dr. Bhupendra; *Mystics and Nature: (Indian Philosophy and Culture)*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, March 1971. pp. 47 to 52):

There are two types of Mystics; one sees the manifestation of God in the grandeur of Nature and the other regards multiplicity of Nature as the greatest hurdle to mystical quest. These opposite views spring from the conviction that as the realms of Nature and of the inner self are regarded as exclusive of each other, loyalty to one realm is taken to be incompatible with the acceptance of the other. The author feels on the contrary, that the 'Indian religious' tradition believes in a living communion between nature and man'. External Nature provides inspiration for the spiritual awakening of the inner being. In higher mystical consciousness the conflict between the two spheres vanishes and both the inner and outer visions are united to attain a richer vision.

Sukla, Karunesha; *Origion of the Vaiseṣika system: (Saradapitha Pradīpa)*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1971, pp. 28 to 36):

The doctrines of the Vaiseṣika school of Kāṇāda, which are of pre-Buddhist origin, are firmly rooted in the Upaniṣadic ferments and hence are their origins assignable to the Vedic epoch. The author here draws a number of illustrations to show the similarity between most of the Jaina doctrines with those in the Vaiseṣika Sastras. 'The Jains honour the Vaiseṣika school and indeed appellate their teacher as 'śaduluka' *Uluka* having maintained six categories. Some writers point out that there is scriptural evidence in support of the *Paramāṇukāraṇavāda*.

White, David; *Human Perfection in the Bhagavadgīta; (Phil. E. & W. Vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1971; pp. 43 to 53.):*

The Gita frequently identifies man's attainment of the highest good with an experience of Brahman and the highest goal with freedom and bliss of liberation from the bondage of ordinary life. The terms necessary for the attainment of this perfection are the usual Yoga i. e. Karma Yoga (Niṣkāma Karma), Jñāna Yoga and Bhakti Yoga. This discipline or Yoga consists in *Samatva* and

Nirdvandva being realised and brought to action. Since the West is action-oriented, the *niṣkāmakarma* or way of selfless action or *asanga* or *vairāgya* or doctrine of non-attachment in action is the appealing aim of life.

RELIGION

INDIA :

Banerjee, Anukul Chandra; *Mahāyāna Buddhism*; (*JASP* Vol. XIV, No. 3, December 1969, pp. 239 to 252):

Due to want of proper attention and careful preservation of the oral sayings and conversation of the Buddha, different interpretations were adduced to them leading to the formation of different sects, within a century of the master's death. The author studies in detail the various sections of the Theravada (Hinayana) and Mahasanghika (Mahayana) schools, coming to about 18 in all, which finally coalesced into two schools. Some chief aspects of the Vaibhaṣika, Sautrantika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra (or Vigñānavāda) philosophies and the glorious names associated with their exposition are discussed here. The author concludes that "Mahāyāna is metaphysical and speculative while in Hinayāna there is no ground for speculation. Both the sects however agree in the fundamentals of Buddhism, viz. the Four Noble Paths, the Noble Eightfold Path, the non-existence of the soul and the doctrine of karma".

Maheswari, Dr. H.; Religious approach to the study of Religion; (*Indian Philosophy and Culture*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, March 1971, pp. 10 to 17):

Religion is man's concern to attune himself with the Supreme, whether the Supreme is believed or beheld and revealed or reasoned. It follows from this that man and religion are universally related because he has the firm faith that everything lives and moves by Divine Dispensation. Religion engages in self-purification within and trains man in a code of conduct with fellow-men. It is an all round discipline, called *Dharma* and every man must imbibe the spirit of *Svādhyāva* as a contemplative study.

Mallik, Dr. Madhusudan; The Cult of the Tree; (*Indian Philosophy and Culture*; Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1971, pp. 122-131).

Trees in days of old were the centres round which the life of a primitive community revolved. Treatises on metaphysics were

written when rural life under large trees was experienced by the old seers of India. Here the author outlines the cult of the trees, the mode of worship, the tree of life as elixir of life, the Cosmic tree, marriage of trees, totemism and tree spirit worship as obtaining in the various countries of the world. Special mention is made of the holy Bodhi tree, the Vata and the Asvathah, the shadis and vanaspatis of the Vedas which played a part in the evolution of culture in ancient India.

SOCIOLOGY

INDIA :

Basu, Dr. Jogiraj; Recognition of Merit in Caste System in Ancient India; (*JGJRI*), Vol. III, Parts 6 to 9, p. 686).

The author of the article feels depressed to think that eastern and western critics have failed to appreciate the system, well in vogue at the period of the Upaniṣads that merit and not caste was given due recognition. He cites a number of examples from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Kausitaki in support of the practice then in vogue that many enlightened souls of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes upgraded their caste through spiritual knowledge. The cases of Visvāmitra, Janaka and a host of other princely Kṣatriya order are cited to show that caste or birth did not stand as a bar in scholarly aspirations.

Kantovesky, Detlef; *Village Development and Village Democracy in India* ("Dorfentwicklung und Dorfdemokratie in Indien"—Gittersloh Bertelsmann Universitäts-Verlag, 1970, p. 208; Review, *Mundus* Vol. VII, No. 1, 1971, pp. 24 and 25).

The book is the outcome of a field study of three villages in the Banaras district of Uttar Pradesh, conducted from 1964 to 1967. The aim of the author is to consider the causes for the failure of the rural development schemes and community development measures undertaken by the Government of India. He attributes this failure to the gulf between planning and reality in the behaviour of each individual in the villages. This has led to greater polarization between the landholders and the landless.

Lodz, Dr. Ija Lazari-Pawlowsha; The Fundamental Principles of Gandhi's Public Activity; (*Universitas*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1971, pp. 173 to 180).

As a symbol of uncompromising truth, Gandhi insisted on proving that politics is for saints. With him non-violence is a creed though it was a matter of policy with the Congress. In his concept of *swaraj*, he says that it is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. It must be won, worked and maintained through Truth and Ahimsa. To him, the end and the means are equally important. Like Albert Schweitzer he laid special emphasis on Ahimsa even to his enemies. His norms are "Nobody should ever be slandered. The enemy's good qualities must never be denied. Hatred among people must never be fostered. Other people should never be held responsible for our own faults. People who oppose us should never be denied the right to express their own views"

Pusalker, A. D.; *Social World in the Mahābhārata*; (JGJRI* Vol. III, Parts 6 to 9, pp. 575 to 580).

Mahābhārata, as the name implies, is a thesaurus of ancient myths, tales, legends, philosophy, social custom and manners and political institutions. It speaks of polyandry and *Niyoga*, and of the eight types of marriage, the last two of which (*Asura* and *Rākṣasa*) being considered sinful. The four primary castes, and the mixed castes were known though rigidity in observance of the rules had not yet appeared. The *Gurukula* system of education prevailed and *Sanyāsa* was restricted to the three higher castes. Women as partners in life were held in esteem and chastity was much praised. Cremation seems to have been the common method of disposal of the dead. The mention of *Dasas* and *Dasis* lends colour to the report that there was a system of slavery, the outcome of war-effort.

SECTION IV(A) : INSTITUTIONS

(Note : Country, subject and name of institutions arranged in alphabetical order; institutions and their publications in italics).

GENERAL

ART

International Association of Art :

This international non-governmental organization, which has consultative status with Unesco (category A), represents painters, sculptors, engravers and other professional artists in over 60 countries. One of the main functions of an international association which has, besides its own channels of communication, the facilities offered by Unesco, is the cross-fertilization of ideas and currents concerning the visual, aesthetic, technical and sociological aspects of art. For this purpose the IAA publishes a quarterly bulletin in English and French, and is at present considering launching a Spanish edition intended especially for countries in South America. The bulletin attempts to be controversial and stimulating: it is not an art magazine—its budget would not permit—but a magazine of ideas, an open letter between professional artists. The activities of the association, seeking mainly to foster artistic life in every community and encourage new forms of expression, are by their nature a fulfilment and extension of Unesco's cultural aims. The IAA supplies expert advice on artistic matters whenever it is requested to do so. It associated itself closely with the programme for the International Year of Human Rights and International Education Year, and obtained symbols for the two events designed by Vasarely. During 1970, it organised in Belgrade the second World Conference on the Professional Training of the Artist. This year, the IAA plans to publish a portfolio of numbered lithographs and prints by prominent artists. This is the first attempt by professional artists to produce on a world scale, an edition of the works of their colleagues and to channel original works of art of the finest quality to sections of the public to whom they were not previously available. The association's bulletin No. 63 contains a report on the 6th International Congress of Art whose theme was: "The place of the artist in society and

the effects upon his creativity and social attitudes engendered by living and working under different systems of patronage". The report represents a survey of the position of the artist in modern societies, and its findings and recommendations make it an important sociological document which could have favourable repercussions on the living conditions of artists in the coming decades, to the benefit of all sections of the community. Since the association was founded in 1954, triennial congresses have been held in Venice, Dubrovnik, Vienna, New York, Tokyo and Amsterdam. The 7th congress will be held in 1972 in Havana. On a practical level, the IAA works to secure free access to museums for artists and, on a long-term basis, for everyone. It seeks to encourage the respect by Member States and others of international agreements in favour of the free circulation of works by living artists. It also strives to obtain for artists a small percentage of the profits made on second and subsequent resales of their works during their lifetime. It is further interested in the registration of works of art for purposes of identification. Finally, the IAA takes every opportunity of exploring common ground with its sister organisations specializing in music, theatre, cinema, museums, architecture, design, typography, art criticism, etc. Many of the problems of these organisations are also the problems of artists. By working together with them, the chances of bringing new art forms into existence are greatly increased. (*Unesco Chronicle*, May 1971).

HUNGARY

CULTURE:

Ference Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts (Utja 103, Budapest VI Hungary):

Among the collection in this museum are the Indian collection, and the South-East Asian collection. The list of exhibits in each of them is given below:

The Indian Collection: The Indian collection contained originally only a few objects. The enrichment of it was due to a great extent to the donations made by Imre Schwaiger (1864-1940), with whom Zoltain Felvinczi Takats was in friendly relations and their cooperation helped us to be enriched with many outstanding pieces representing the main periods of the Indian art. Between the two world wars the collection grew only with a group of textiles by purchase, but since then our Indian collection is

growing with organized purchases ; thus, for instance, we bought seven modern paintings in 1955 on the occasion of the Indian exhibition of Budapest. Our Indian collection includes also the art objects from Nepal, mostly presented by Imre Schwaiger, as well as the material from Farther India and Indonesia. The prehistoric period of India is represented by eighteen nuclei of flint stone, mostly presented by Henry P. E. Mesurier, from whom we also received ten copper-objects from the Indus culture, which is completed by several fragments of pottery. From the Pre-Maurya period we have fragments of grey pottery and from the Maurya period six "Mother Goddess" figurines in terracotta. The Indian sculpture is represented, along with 54 pieces of Gandhara sculpture, by 48 statues and reliefs, mostly from Mathura, donated also by Imre Schwaiger. Among the Gandhara sculptures are ten slate figures and fifteen reliefs, nineteen statues and twelve friezes in stucco, dating from the 1st to the 6th centuries illustrating mostly Buddha, Bodhisattva and Maitreya. The most interesting among them is the idealized head of Buddha. The slate reliefs depict events in the life of Buddha and jataka stories. The stucco figures from Gandhara are of great importance, among them are some heads of Buddha and Bodhisattva. In the case of the 24 sandstone figures of Mathura from the Kushan period we can find, besides the figures of Buddhism, Jainist prophets, apsarases, Kuveras, etc. As to the statuettes of the Mathura period there are some terracotta figurines. The statuettes of the Gupta period are represented by terracotta figurines composed more freely, such as figures of man and woman, the girl and the dancer. Along with these is a fragment of relief from the 7-8th century featuring Shiva and Parvati. A male head and a head of Shiva in grey sandstone can be dated back to the 9-11th centuries. Among the five pieces from the Pala-Sena age the outstanding ones are the two large steles of Surya and the Teaching Buddha. Further on, the black head of Vishnu reminds us of the most beautiful sculptures of this period. A fragment of a female head in grey slate came from the surroundings of Orissa. Besides the mentioned pieces we keep also sixteen reliefs and statues in different stones, mainly in sandstone, belonging to the Middle Ages of India. It may be supposed that five statues among them in a yellowish and greyish sandstone from the 10-12th century belong to Rajputana, e. g. Vishnu and Lakshmi and a Yaksha. Among the statuettes of metal, numbering 21 pieces, mention may be made of Vishnu and Lakshmi of the 14-15th century, derived from South India, as well as two figures from the 17-19th century illustrating Krishna and a group of statues from

the 18-19th century illustrating Durga the demon conqueror. From the Mughal period we have several excellent weapons, semi-precious stone carvings and miniatures of the 17-18th century, which are among the most valuable objects of this period, mostly donated by Imre Schwaiger. From this group we may mention a calligraphy with gold letters and a miniature painting entitled "The capture of elephants" showing the influences of Persia, figures of Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb, the Mughal pieces, and miniatures e. g. Prince and the courtlady, the Lady in blue dress, the Princess and the Loving couple. The Rajput School is represented by twelve miniatures; outstanding among them are the Lady playing on a vina and the Ladies on the balcony. The painting of Krishna with shepherd girls belongs to the Panjab region. The miniature of the Prince dictating to the Princess, presented by the Indian Government in 1967, was painted by a master of the Kangra school about 1830. The popular paintings of North India of the last century are represented by a dozen of aquarelles picturing Krishna, Vishnu, Durga, Sarasvati, etc. We keep in our collection also ten modern Indian paintings, which include the works of B. Sanyal, H. A. Gade, S. A. Anandkar, S. Chavda, A. Das, as well as S. Sausa. The Standing woman painted by J. Roy is the bequest of Edith Toth. The etching of the "Birth of a white rose" made by S. Hore was presented to us by the Indian Government in 1966, as well as oil-painting of "Black and white divided by three, a work by N. F. Hussain and the two batik pictures on canvas: "Arjuna and Duryodhana" by M. Ram and "Sacred festive chariot" by Rath. The Mughal industrial art is well represented by ten semi-precious stone carvings of the 16-17th century (jade cup, mirror, sword-hilt, plate in lapis lazuli etc.), and weapons too. In the textile collection, comprising more than 200 pieces, there are seven rug-fragments of the Mughal era from the end of the 17th century, one of them being probably from a workshop in Lahore. Among the fragments of our Kashmir shawls three belong to the late 18th century and the rest are of the 19-20th century....Along with all these we keep about seventy woven fabrics eighty embroideries and fifteen textiles in different colours. The major part of them was presented to us by Imre Schwaiger or transferred from the Ferenc Zajti collection of the Indian textiles, purchased by the Museum in 1941. The material suffered severe damages during the war. Among the jewelry mention may be made besides the gold pieces, of sixty folk jewels. The charming lacquer wares of Kashmir were bought by Ferenc Hopp himself, while the Sind pieces were donated by Imre Schwaiger. The folk arts are also represented by metal articles for use, e. g. the finely made specimens

of lothas. The 15 Bidri metal works originate from the world exhibition of Vienna in 1872. Our Indian ceramics are modest in number, but still mention may be made of the two large ornamental plates with motives of Ajanta.

The South-Eastern Asiatic Collection: Among the Burmese material the two outstanding pieces are a head-fragment in white marble from the 12-14th century and a painted head in sandstone from the 14th century. We have an interesting Burmese painting on silk which depicts the event of the capture of the last king of Burma in 1885. Amongst the lacquered wares mention may be made of an architectural ornament from a pagoda in Pangun and a cover of sutra. The collection is completed by an altar, a boat-shaped lute and some carved furniture from the 19th century. From Ceylon we have a ritual dancing mask illustrating Tprnaka Yaka the demon, which can be dated to the 18th century. Besides, we have some Buddhist manuscripts on palm leaves and several ivory carvings from recent times.

The Siamese art is represented rather well. In sculpture we have a head of Buddha in red sandstone, being the earliest piece of the ten Siamese statutes, as dating back to the 12-13th century. There are a large sized bronze head of Buddha and a smaller one which are also of great interest. The Siamese paintings show Buddhist scenes, Buddha with his two attendants and The Spheres of Existence. Along with these we keep a Siamese Buddhist manuscript with covers painted in red and gold. According to the notes by Janos Xantus one of the lacquer boxes was painted by the queen of Siam in 1869. We have a rich collection of Siamese jewels with a total of 140 pieces, consisting mostly of silver objects. The 26 small size glazed ceramics of the 14-16th centuries include both the Sawankhalok and Ch'ieng Mai wares. They include lamps, oil-and scent-containers.

From Cambodia we have a larger fragment of relief from Angkor Thom, representing the half figure of a deity (Bertalan Hatvany's donation), as well as a smaller one belonging to Angkor Vat. Besides, we can find four Cambodian Buddhist books from the 19th century.

The earliest objects from Java are two carved stones of the 11-13th century, illustrating Devi and Rakshasa. A demon figure of the 17-18th century shows the imitation of the ancient style in Indonesian sculptures. As for our rich wayang collection 46

wayang figures can be found featuring the heroes of Pandava and Kaurava. In addition, we have a richly illustrated wayang manuscript from the 18th century describing the play and giving the essential features of the characters. The collection includes also sceneries, pictures, and some masks in earlier and later styles, used for the shadowplays. The major part of this collection came with the Erno Zboray collection purchased in 1966-67. The best specimen in our collection of Kris is an 18th century one with gold scabbard of engraved decorations.

The Jenozichy collection of the Caucasian and South-Siberian archaeological finds was transferred to us in 1937 by the Hungarian National Museum. The objects, numbering over 2000 pieces, were bought and received by Jeno Zichy at the end of the last century in the Caucasus and South Siberia during his expeditions, which were organised by himself for tracing the migration of the forefathers of the Magyar settlers in Europe. The greater part of the Caucasian material came from Kabardia in North Caucasus. The bronze tools and weapons from the second millennium B.C. are well represented, likewise the pendants from the Scythian era (7-3th century B.C.) with designs of human figures and animals. However the major part of this collection is constituted by small size import objects from Greece and Rome, e.g. fibulas, jewels, pearls, handles of vessels, lamps, buckles etc. We have a number of mirrors of the Sarmatian culture (3th century B.C.—3th A.D.). Two sets of embossed gold-plate belts from the Kerch region with the motives of winged stag or griff showing the fusion of the antique traditions with the arts of the Nomads. There are two fine cups of cut glass, coming from the Kuban region and Hunzak, Dakhestan. From the Alanic period (4-10th century), besides a great number of iron objects, mention may be made of the post-Hunnic metal works, the most interesting being an inlaid gilded belt-set. The South-Siberian objects came from the surroundings of Tomsk and Minussinsk. They are fewer in number than the Caucasian objects, and are mostly of bronze. We can find among them a great number of bronze knives of the Karasuk and the later Tager cultures (7-2nd century B.C.), as well as mirrors, stirrups and horse-bits. From the Tagar period, besides a large belt plaque with a tiger devouring an argali, there are three smaller stags used as belt mounts and pole-ends with mountain goats. Among the finds of the Middle Ages and later times we may mention the spears, the arrow-heads, horse-bites and stirrups. For illustrations of the exhibits see *Handbook of the Ferec Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts*, 1970, pp. 67-85 and pp. 91-99).

INDIA

CULTURE :

Kerala History Association (Hospital Road, Ernakulam, Cochin. II):

Keraleeya Ithihasa Samiti, started in 1945 under the patronage of Kulāpti K. M. Munshi and the late Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, is the parent body for Kerala History Association. It was reorganised in 1966 in its present form as Kerala History Association. Its objects are: promotion and encouragement of scientific study and research of the history of Kerala and its culture; furtherance of public interest in Archaeology, Anthropology, Epigraphy, Numismatics and other allied subjects; some of its achievements are: A three day History Convention held in 1965 at Ernakulam with a historical exhibition. The papers presented at the Convention have been published under the title "A Story on the March"; its other activities include the organisation of the 400th Anniversary Celebration of the Jewish Synagogue at Mattancherry (Cochin); seminars on Social History and Anthropology (1969); on Archaeology (1970); on the Study of History; on the Sources of Kerala History; a Comprehensive History of Kerala in two volumes which is under preparation. The Association runs a Journal called "Charitam"; it owns a modest library containing some rare books.

MUSIC :

Indian Musicological Society (Bombay-4):

Established in November 1970; a Body registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1960. The aims and objectives of the I. M. S., in brief, are: to promote study and research in the field of Music, including folk music and Indian Dance; to promote writing on music and related arts and spread appreciation thereof in India and abroad; to promote study group; to promote understanding and co-operation amongst scholars, performing artistes and composers of Music; to establish and/or conduct and/or subscribe and/or help in the publication of a Journal of Music devoted to the study of music and related arts; to prepare and/or publish books, pamphlets or other literatures on music and related arts, to hold conference and/or seminars, discussions or other cultural performances, exhibitions, concerts or lectures as are likely to promote the aims and objectives of the Society'. President: Prof. B. R. Deodhar; Journal of the Indian Musico-

logical Society is the official publication of IMS. R.C. Mehta is the Hon. Gen. Secretary, Indian Musicological Society, Jambu Bet, Dandia Bazaar, Baroda/India.

S. E. ASIA

CULTURE :

Conservation D'Angkor : (Office : Phnom-Penh ; Museum : Siemreap) :

Curator, Groslier, Bernad Philippe ; The Conservation was organized by the Govt. of Cambodia and has been supported by both the Government and Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. Its head-office is in Phnom-Penh with rich library and in Siemreap it has a museum which exhibits the materials from the Angkor monuments ; Major activities : The Conservation carries out every kind of operation such as repairs, reconstruction, consolidation, etc. for conserving the Angkor monuments with co-operation of specialists of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. It is now receiving the assistance from Unesco for the restoration of the monuments. And also it takes the scientic research works on the Angkor monuments. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1970 Directories, No. 8*).

Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient : (36, Monivong, Phnom-Penh) :

The Ecole has, nowadays, no Branch in Cambodia. Each researcher sent by the Ecole to Cambodia works according to the programme decided by the head-office in Paris. Half of the researchers live in Phnom-Penh and the other half live in Siemreap as conservators of the Angkor monuments. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1970 Directories No. 8*).

Faculte Des Lettres Et Des Sciences Humaines, Universite Royale Khmere : (V. URSS, Phnom-Penh, Cambodia) :

Dean : Prum Male ; Founded in 1961 ; Structure : Courses : Philosophy, French Literature, English Literature, Khmer Literature, History, Geography ; and a study and training center for teachers ; founded in 1970 ; Centre for Documentation and Research. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1970 Directories, No. 8*).

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE :

Comite Litteraire : (C/o Ministry of National Education, Vientiane) :

President: Nginn, P. S.; Founded in 1951; Structure: The Comite was founded by Statute, No. 207/PC of Aug. 27, 1951, intended to transform into the Laos Academie in future. It is attached to the Ministry of National Education and receives financial help from it. The number of members is limited to 25 by the Statue, and now it is 9. Every member is appointed by King according to the recommendation of the Minister of Education. The administrative committee is composed of the President, Mr. P. S. Nginn, Vice-President, S. E. Bong Souvannavong, and Secretary General, Mr. Phouvong Phimmasone; Major Activities: The main object of today's activities of the Comite is to establish the Lao language as a modern language, by way of establishing the orthography and grammar of Lao, and of composing the new words and so on. To this end, every publication in Lao language is under the direction of the Comite and it publishes school text books in Lao language. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

RELIGION:

Institut Bouddique: (V. Preah Sisowath, Phnom-Penh):

Director: Leang Hap An; Founded in 1930 (as a result of the reorganization of the Royal Library founded in 1921); Structure: The Institute is a part of the Ministry of Cults, and its purpose is to direct and coordinate studies in Smaller Vehicle Buddhism among the Cambodian population and Cambodian group abroad. This is a center for the studies, conservation and development of the Khmer national culture. Some of the ways in which it exerts itself are the following: (1) Research and study of library texts, (2) Forming a study library, (3) Research and conservation of ancient documents, (4) Publication of works in Pali, Sanskrit, Cambodian and foreign languages, mainly dealing with works on literature, religion, art, archaeology, Buddhist history and national customs. The Institute includes the following:

Library: There are about 30,000 volumes in Cambodian, French, English, Siamese, Singhalese, Burmese, etc. which deals with subjects such as philology, religion, history, art and archaeology. There is also a large collection of manuscripts on macaw tree leaves, in Pali and Cambodian, which deal with folklore, and a collection of newspapers, reviews, illustrated magazines, and periodicals in Cambodian, French and English.

The Manners and Customs Commission: This Commission was created in 1934. Its main objectives are to gather materials

on the manners and customs of the Cambodian Kingdom, to organize and maintain appropriate archives, and to publish gradually all documents of ethnographic interest.

The Tripitaka Commission: Buddhism in Cambodia has a Holy Book called Tripitaka which is a symbol for this country as it is for other Buddhist countries. Formerly, the Tripitakas were written only on the macaw tree leaves and kept in the Silver Pagoda. However, on January 25, 1930, the King ordered that the Tripitakas be kept by this Institute. To make the Tripitaka in Pali useful, the King ordered the publication of the Tripitakas in Cambodian and the establishment of a Tripitaka Commission. The Commission finished these works by 1969 and is now preparing for the revised edition. It has brought out a very large number of publications. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

Institute D'Etudes Bouddhiques: (Wat Ongtu, Vientiane):

Director: Phra Maha Methi Vora Khounh (Phra Maha Khamphoun Philavong); **Founded** in 1953; **Structure:** The Institute started as Pali High School in 1953, and transformed to the Institute of Buddhist Studies in 1964. It comprises the educational activities for monks as well as research activities for Buddhist studies. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

SOCIOLOGY:

Mon Khmer Institute: (P. O. Box 726 Sisowath, Quay, Phnom-Penh):

Director: Phu Ng Ton; **Secretary-General:** Tran Nghia; **Founded** in 1969; **Structure:** The Institute was founded by the Cambodian Government as the research institute for Mon Khmer studies. There six sections as follows (name of the head in parenthesis): 1. Pre-history and History (Duong Sarin), 2. Anthropology (Tran Ky), 3. Arts (Hang Thun Hak), 4. Geography (Thack Poch), 5. Social Ethnology (Boulbet, Jean), 6. Literature and Language (Keng Vann Sak); **Major Activities:** For the first step of the research activities the young Institute wants to gather every kind of materials and reference books, and to gather well qualified researchers for each section. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

U. S. S. R.

THEATRE :

The Moscow State Art Technical School, Moscow trains workers of a rare avocation, those who create the props and sets for a play, film or television programme. The school has evening and daytime departments, and the student body is over 600. The oldest 'stage trade' is that of property man. Studies begin in a rather ordinary way; students make cups of *papier-mache*, but by the end of their studies they are capable of turning a piece of coarse fabric into "Brussel lace", plaster of Paris into "marble" and pieces of glass into "precious stones". Costume makers learn to make patterns of clothes for all ages. Their skill stems from a close study of the history of costumes. The largest number of students is studying the trade of makeup man. They learn to change an actor's appearance, make him look younger or older and bring out specific features. The makeup men's rooms at the school remind one of a hair dresser's; there is a variety of wigs made by students; the hair styles are those of Ancient Greece, the Middle Ages, the involved styles of the time of Louis XIV, and the locks of the 19th century. The school trains specialists in stage lighting, who learn to make light effects corresponding to the style and plot of the play. Other specialities include stage mechanics and engineering. Sometime ago a new trade was introduced in radio and sound. This vocation is a boundary speciality combining elements of art and engineering. The classrooms of radio-sound men are fitted out with modern equipment. Four years ago the first puppet makers began to be trained here. Besides the special subjects, students read the history of the fine arts and the history of drama and music. This helps them to understand the task of a play better and become comprehensively learned specialists. The school was founded forty years ago and is the only establishment of this type in the world. (*Moscow-News*-dated 22-5-71):

SECTION IV(B): SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS

G. D. R.

PAINTING:

Mueller, Karl Erich: (G. D. R.)

One of G. D. R.'s most famous illustrators and painters. In his pictures Mueller has felt his way down to the very roots of the people's soul and, at the same time, has absorbed India's ancient culture. Austere shapes and ornaments are ever an eventful entity. But the most important element dominating them is their exotic beauty and Mueller's understanding of the people, their social needs and achievements, their pride and their innate kindness. His message is the message of an artist who went as a friend to far-away India, to the country that is allied with the G. D. R. India abounds in beauty. Her women look graceful whether rich or poor and their carriage and movements are exquisite. The country and its people are full of contrasts that dazzle the eye of the artist and make his fingers itch for the pencil to capture the strange and fascinating schemes. His pictures also analyse the caste-spirit, the scourge of progress which the Indian Government and the best of India's sons and daughters are trying to abolish. One of his paintings which became the centre of attraction at the exhibition the artist held in New Delhi, portrays a female building worker, one of the untouchables, about to adjust her sari for her hard work. A large Indian circulation-paper reproduced the picture on the front page and commended the artist: "In India I made more than hundred sketches. Now back home again I drew on my memories, impressions and sensations. I gained and string them together to enrich my illustrations" And he does it with great skill, human kindness and affection. (*Democratic Germany*, 15-8-71).

INDIA

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE:

Satyanarayana (Dr.) Viswanatha (Marutinagar, Vijayawada).

One of the most outstanding modern Telugu writers; born in 1895 at Machilipatnam; began his career as a lecturer in

Telugu and after teaching for over 30 years became a College Principal; has been the Vice-President of the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi; his novel "Veyi Padagalu" won for him a prize from the Andhra University; he has by his writings raised the Telugu language to the level of other Indian languages; awarded Padmabushan by the Government of India; won the Sahitya Akademi award in 1961 for his "Viswanatha Madhyak-karamu"; received the Bharatiya Jnanpith award (1971) of one lakh of rupees for his epic "Sri Ramayana Kalpavṛkṣamu", which has been published in six volumes, each containing 2000 verses; has over 80 works to his credit including 60 novels, 12 poetical, five critical works and 5 plays.

MUSIC:

Hanagal, Gangabai: (9160/18, Deshpande Nagar, Hubli.):

Vocalist. Born 5-3-1913; specialist in Hindustani music. khayal of Kirana gharana; Won the Presidential award of Padma Bhushan in 1971.

Kerkar Kesarbai: (152, Paras 2nd Shivaji Park Road, Bombay-28);

Hindustani vocalist. Born at Keri in 1892. She is the most prospective exponent of the Khayal style of singing in India today; pupil of Ustad Alladiya Khan Saheb; early training under the famous Ramakrishna Bua Vase, Barkatullah, Pandit Bhaskar Bua Bhakale and then twenty six years of rigorous training under Alladiya Khan for more than ten hours of hard work each day. On purity of music she observes: "Music without meaning is mere noise, because melody which does not capture the mood of the song defeats its purpose. Technical mastery alone can never produce great music". Indira Gandhi says of her: "Through the purity of her music and dignity of her performance, she has moulded our standards of appreciation and has profoundly impressed other musicians". I. W. I., dated 19-9-1971.)

PAINTING:

Das. Smt. Kusum: (Banaras):

Obtained her post-Diploma in graphic art from the Government College of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow. This was however, after she had won the best-exhibit-award at the State Lalit Kala Akademi Annual in 1969. She has quickly shot into prominence

as a graphic artist of considerable merit and great promise. She is still taking tuition under Prof. Deepak Banerjee at the Fine Arts, College, Banaras Hindu University. She recently appeared with her 21 etchings at the Lal Baradari Art Gallery at Lucknow and titled them all as a Composition. She employs all skills and technique of the etching medium from the elementary to the deep-bite and dry-point and also at times adds aquatint. She has also not left out collograph and mixed media. CNI., Vol. 12, No. 4, July 1971).

Saxena Prabha: (Lucknow):

Born in 1932 at Gwalior; was educated at the Kamala Raja College, Gwalior and graduated from the *Kala Bhavan* at Santiniketan in 1954, where she met the artist Avtar Singh Panwar whom she later married. Before joining the Government Arts College at Lucknow, she taught for a few years at the Raghunath Girls Degree College, Meerut. Smt. Panwar was honoured twice by the State Lalit Kala Akademy (1963 and 1969) with State Awards. Her works are in the collection of the National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi in addition to several provincial and private collections in the country and abroad in Japan, United Kingdom and the United States of America. As a person she has all the virtues of a woman, an artist and a teacher. CNI., Vol. 12, No. 4, July 1971).

THEATRE:

Richards Norah: (Punjab):

With the death on March 4 of Norah Richards at the age of ninety, Punjab has lost one of its more interesting and colourful personalities; for the last thirty years she was living in the seclusion of the small hill station at Andretta in the Kangra valley. But to the very last she continued to take an active interest in the literary and cultural life of the State to the revival of which she devoted the best part of her seventy years in India. She first came to this country as a young girl of twenty at the turn of the century. Her husband, Mr. P. E. Richards, was one of the small band of Englishmen who helped to build up the Dayal Singh College at Lahore. She was among the first to dispel the prejudice which had made so many look upon Punjabi as "a rustic tongue". She pioneered the revival of Punjabi drama and helped thousands to discover its rich and vivid folk heritage. "Indian plays by Indian authors about India, for the Indian people", was her constant slogan. Writing in *The Modern Review*, she said: "India has fallen a

sad victim to European influence in the theatre...Unfortunately it is the very worst tradition of dramatic art that is casting its shadow and glow on the Indian stage. I know very little of the Indian stage proper for every time I enter an Indian theatre, I am treated to a European version of an Indian play or to an Indianised play or to an Indianized version of an English one". A frequent contributor to the Indian Press, Norah Richards was a dedicated soul. A prolific writer, she set a new dramatic tradition in Punjabi literature. She wrote a number of plays like *Sati* (1916), translated by Imtiaz Ali into Urdu and *Valmiki* (1918). Her last published work, *Country Life*, gives 'delightful pen-pictures of Indian village life, the life she loved in immensely. But it was not a passive love. She had a dream, a vision of India and of a new world which, as she put it, "cannot come into being without a new civilization and that civilization will be of culture, not of power". In this quest for a new order, she did her bit, leaving it to others to follow it up. C. N. I., May 1971),

S. E. ASIA

CULTURE :

Jacques, Claude: (Researcher, C/o Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Phnom-Penh):

Born, March 19, 1926 France; Khmer and Cham Epigraphy. Licence es Lettres; Thesis of Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes; University de Paris (a la Sorbonne); University de Lyon; College de France; Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Professor, Faculte d'Archeologie. Member, Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient; Societe Asiatique; (P.C.) Pensionnaire a l'Institut Francaise d'Indologie de Pondichery (India); *Critical Edition of Gayāmahātmya*, with French translation and notes, l'Institut Francaise de Pondichery, 1963; "Notes sur la stele de Vat Luong Kau," JA, Vol. 250, 1962; "Note sur une stele d'Avolokitesvara a Gaya," AA, Vol. 16, 1967; Coauthor of *Les pelerinages*, Coll. "Sources orientales," Paris, 1960, *Le monde du sorcier*, Coll. "Sources orientales," Paris, 1966; Ready for publication, "Etudes sur le Cambodge preangkorien," BEFEO. Edition and translation of various new inscriptions discovered in Cambodia. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

Kuoch Kyleng : (Cambodia) :

Born January 15th, 1930 ; Buddhism and Khmer Studies, English Language. B.A., M.Ed.; Lycee Bouddhique Preah Suramarith ; Delhi University ; Ohio University. Prof., University Bouddhique Preah Sihanouk Raj. Member, Institut Bouddhique ; AMCEK (National Association of Teachers in Cambodia). Editor, Monthly Magazine of the Institut Bouddhique. (P. C.) Editor, *Buddhist Studies Magazine* ; Coauthor of 'The Khmer Orthography' ; 'The International Phonetic Alphabets' ready for publication. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

Ly Kim Long (Researcher C/o Faculte des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines) ;

Born, April 5, 1932 ; Cultural History of 'South-east Asia' ; B. A. University of Ceylon ; M.A., Ph.D. Banaras Hindu University. Prof. Faculte des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines ; Member, Archaeological Society of India ; Publication, 'An Outline of Cambodian Architecture', Varanasi, 1967 ; Ready for publication, Cultural Relation between India and Cambodia, from the first to the Thirteenth Century A.D. (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

Tor Ann (Ven) : (Researcher C/o University Bouddhique Preah Sihanouk Raj) ;

Born April 3, 1936 ; Sanskrit, Inscription of Cambodia, Buddhist Logic ; Varanaseya Sanskrit University ; Professor, University Bouddhique Preah Sihanouk Raj ; (P.C.) Lecturer, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University ; Seventeen books on Sanskrit studies (Kambujadesha Sanskrit Series) ; Ready for publication, Comparative Studies on Vedic and Buddhist Cultures in Cambodia Based on Sanskrit Inscriptions Dated from 5th to 13 Centuries A.D.). (*The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies*, 1970 *Directories* No. 8).

U. S. A.

DANCE ;

Chrstian Sheila ; (Austin, Texas, U. S. A.) :

American ballerina : age 20 years ; Dancer from her eighth year ; Deeply interested in Indian Bharata Natyam. She came to India in 1967 ; studied Bharata Natya under Kumari Minakshi

of the Rishi Valley School, Andhra Pradesh ; C. V. Chandrasekher of the Bānaras Hindu University and Mrs. Shanta Dhananjayam of Kalakshetra ; she is now learning vocal music and vina at the Central Karnataka College, Madras. "The Americans are keen to know more about this ancient art", says Sheila. She hopes to popularise Bharata Natyam in the United States. Sheila also plans to organise Bharata Natyam classes for the students there. (*American Reporter*, September 8, 1971).

U. S. S. R.

PAINTING :

Iankoshvili Natela : (U.S.S.R.) : Born in Kakhetia, one of loveliest places in Georgia ; painting has been a passion with her since she was little more than a child. In 1937, she was admitted to the Academy of Arts in Tbilisi (the department of painting) where her teachers were the prominent Georgian artists Mose Toidze, David Kakabadze and Ucha Japaridze. Natela stood out among her group for ability and industriousness. She graduated from the Academy in 1943, and before long her original talent attracted the notice of the exacting Georgian public. Since then her paintings have been regularly displayed at Georgian and All-Union exhibitions. Her individual exhibitions held at the Picture Gallery in Tbilisi and the Art Workers club brilliantly confirm the uniqueness of her talent and are real events in the artistic life of Georgia. Natela Iankoshvili has been awarded the title of Merited Artist of Georgia. Her portraits are first and foremost psychological studies. In this respect, the portrait of Nunu Geldiashvili is one of the best examples. A cold light falls upon the face, painted against an emeraldgreen background. The black, flatly painted hair which frames this face, lends it a special beauty, and the balance of light and shadow gives it all but tangible volume. The severe black dress is relieved by a long string of bright red beads and one vividly painted, dark-red glove. "Dream" is the result of a profound emotional experience, and of final triumph over difficulties encountered in the course of the artist's creative quest. It is done in light colours, the predominating shades being a cool yellowish-blue and a silvery-rose. Economy of line and a very sparing use of colour combinations have enabled Natela to achieve singular expressiveness in her portrait of Irma Chopikashvili. There is a characteristic freedom and confidence in her compositions, and the portraits, unburdened with superfluous detail, seem to have been painted with the firm

hand of a man. Natela uses bold brush strokes to emphasise the inner rhythm of her model, thus achieving a remarkable likeness. She is very particular about colour. Her favourite combination is green, black and yellow. Natela's paintings have a material, tangible quality, and although she uses her brush in strong strokes, the colours are transparent and suffused with an inner glow. Natela has also produced some gifted graphic works. In her Svan series, the composition is bold and free and simplicity is blended with stern monumentality. The lines are perfectly expressive and terse, especially in Cuban and Mexican series. Her latest works, mainly portraits of her contemporaries, show that Natela Iankoshvili has attained full artistic maturity. Each of her paintings is an emotional experience vibrant with passionate feeling. (*Culture and Life*, 1971-3).

SECTION V : EXHIBITION

INDOLOGY IN GERMANY

New Delhi, 1971

An impressive and colourful function was held on 1 May 1971 at Rabindra Bhavan, New Delhi, when an exhibition on Indology in Germany was inaugurated by the President of the Sahitya Akademi, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji. His Excellency, Guenter Diehl, the Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany in India, was present at this occasion. In his inaugural address Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji emphasised the great contribution made by German scholars in the study of Indian culture and expressed his hope that a parallel exhibition of Indians' contribution to German knowledge will also be organised in no distant future. Prof. Lut of the University of Heidelberg explained the special features of this exhibition. The Ambassador presented a volume recently published on 'India and the Germans' to the President of the Sahitya Akademi. Prof. K. R. S. Iyengar proposed the vote of thanks.

This Exhibition of rare books, photographs of 66 famous Indologists and other panels showing the centres of Indological study in Federal Republic of Germany was arranged by the Sahitya Akademi with the help and co-operation of the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg. At this occasion a pamphlet written by Dr. G. Sontheimer was distributed which highlighted some features of the Exhibition.

"Early translations from Sanskrit provoked enthusiasm, as the first German translation of *Sakuntala* by Georg Forster (1791) through which Goethe came to know *Sakuntala*; or the *Upanisads* in the French translation by Auquetil Duperron.

"Friedrich V. Schlegel's *On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians* published in 1808 in Heidelberg signalled the beginning of serious German indological research. Schlegel concentrated on the edition and translation of Sanskrit texts and Franz Bopp on Grammar and Comparative Linguistics which established the existence of linguistic families. Branches of Indology are now in some 22 German Universities; Vedic Studies, the Brahmanas and

Ritualistic Literature, the Upanisads and Indian Philosophy, Grammar (Panini, Prakrit and Pali), Sastras (including Dharma-sastra, Arthasastra, Astronomy, Medicines), the Epics and Puranas, Drama, poetry and Narrative Literature, Buddhism, Jainism, Epigraphy, Art, and History of Literature.

“Max Muller’s magnum opus, the *Rig Veda Samhita* (4 vols. 1849–1874); *The St. Petersburg Dictionary* published between 1852–1875 by Otto von Bohtlingk and Rudolf von Roth; volumes by Jacobi, v. Glasenapp, Schubring on Jainism; Kielhorn’s work on Prakrit and Geiger’s work on Pali are only a few of the standard achievements in the wide range of topics which were tackled by German scholars. Dravidian studies were also not neglected; Zielbenbalg and Fabricius were pioneers in this field. Karl Graul translated the *Thirukkural* into German (1865). The German reaction to this work may best be summarised by the words of Albert Schweitzer: ‘There hardly exists in the literature of a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom’.

“After World War II interest in India had not diminished. Two new chairs of Indology have been created since 1960 at Cologne and Mainz. The interest in modern India has caused an increased teaching of modern Indian languages e.g., Hindi, Tamil (which plays a prominent part in the study program at Heidelberg, Cologne and Leipzig), Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and others. A new experiment was started in Heidelberg at the South Asia Institute which has brought together different disciplines, to coordinate research and teaching for a major area and to bring new subjects within the compass of oriental research.” (News Bulletin, Sahitya Akademi, May 1971, No. 89).

JAMINI ROY’S BENGALI FOLK ART

U.S.A. 1971

Thousands of art lovers in America recently had a glimpse of the “crude but sweet” creations of the Father of Contemporary Art, as Jamini Roy is acclaimed in India. Thirty-two examples of Roy’s painting, recently had a five-week showing at the University Gallery of the University of Florida. Sharing the spotlight with the master’s work were 39 items from Bengali artists. Included among them were scroll paintings, ceramics, sculptures and bronzes. The art pieces were collected by Mr. Thomas Needham during his tour in India as Public Affairs Officer with the U.S. Information Service in Calcutta. Inaugura-

ting the Exhibition, India's Ambassador to the United States Lakshmi Kant Jha said the art show provided "an opportunity for the people of the United States to see the work of a great Indian painter and give them a glimpse of the richness of Indian folk art." "With the American people's enthusiasm for all things Indian, the exhibit has been received with interest," said Roy C. Craven, Jr., Professor of Art and Director of the Florida University Gallery. "Spectators have been delightfully surprised at the animals in the Jamini Roy Collection, especially a toy tiger on wheels and a giant votive horse," according to Director Craven. Many young visitors, he added, came to the gallery daily to sit and meditate under the Jagannath sculpture—a representation of the presiding deity at the Jagannath Temple at Puri in Orissa. Director Craven said that in his opinion the Jamini Roy showing at the University of Florida Gallery illustrated the international flavour which the gallery brings to the campus. One of the desires of the College of Architecture and Fine Arts, he said, is to develop an international art programme. For sometime, Craven said, the Department of Arts has been quite active in both Oriental and South American art. "The growing smallness of the world means there is a breaking down of cultural barriers and an acceleration of interest in the arts." (*The American Reporter*, 19—5—1971).

SECTION VI: FOLK AND OTHER ARTS

INDIAN MUSIC IN AMERICA:

The U. S. was first made aware of Indian classical music through two channels. One was the sponsorship of Ali Akbar Khan and other Northern and Southern musicians by Yehudi Menuhin. The other was through the U. S. release of *Pather Panchali* with its score by Ravi Shankar, and the Pandit's early appearances in America in the mid '50s. The first records made by Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar Khan on American labels attracted small audiences in the university towns and larger cities. The film *Pather Panchali* in particular helped to create this audience. The two maestros made attempts from the very beginning to arouse an intelligent interest in Indian music by explaining the nature of ragas and talas, and even by writing programme notes with the ragas spelled out in musical notation. But their efforts had little success among people who were too much under the impact of "exotic" sound to care for the niceties of Indian music. The first response of many supposedly cultured people, who knew only Western music, was summed up by an eminent reviewer of *The New York Times* who compared Ravi Shankar's sitar with the "Screeching" of a cat.

In due course, however, there grew a number of appreciative listeners. The personality of Ravi Shankar contributed not a little towards this. The hippie influence was another factor. This started in the early '60s with the pilgrimage of poet Allen Ginsberg to India. Ginsberg, who belonged to the "Beat Generation", was in the process of becoming a guru to the new hippies. His ecstatic letters home, printed in national magazines, painted India as a drug-taker's paradise and a land where the religious could find happiness in the company of kindred souls. After his return to the U. S., many people from among hippies and students started to drift to India in the hope of finding what Ginsberg had found. Although he had never spoken very much about Indian classical music (preferring to concentrate on bhajans and kirtans as part of his own U. S. "Hare Krishna" cult), the new traffic of American hippies to and from India started to popularise things Indian in America. The hippies received a great deal of publicity in the American press, and through them the American public began to be aware of India and to have taste for its

culture including its music. The third factor was the Beatles, George Harrison took up the study of the sitar (if only for six weeks) and incorporated it into rock 'n' roll. He did not really understand very much, but he had more awareness compared with the other "rock" artistes who came after him and who did not know even the elements of the classical system. Unfortunately the public followed the example of the latter. The absorption of the sitar, "sound" into rock brought the name of Ravi Shankar, and by extension, the world of Indian classical music, to the mass audience. It was then that the American press started to speak of the "Indian music phenomenon" and the vogue for related things (Indian dress, food, literature, etc.) attained a high pitch. Ravi Shankar and Ali Akbar, sensing that the students had been exposed to Indian music long enough to develop a serious desire to understand it, started schools of their own in America—they opened them in California, home of the hippie movement and the most fertile ground to spread any new discipline which had a touch of the "mystic Orient". At first, students flocked to these schools, Indian instruments were taught, and the schools did well for a time. But the interest did not last long. Most of the students were hippies. They were, however, no longer the hippies of an earlier time. They, complained Ravi Shankar, listened to him with drug-glazed eyes. When they realised that the art could not be mastered in a year, they drifted away, and soon his school closed. (Ali Akbar's school, however, is still in existence, but with much the same clientele). The growth of a serious audience in America was proving to be an illusion. To-day, Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar, and the many other Indian musicians who have come in their wake still draw overflow crowds, but it is doubtful if the American audience understands Indian music today any more than it did at the beginning. The behaviour of listeners at an Indian concert in America is dismaying. Some understand what a raga and tala are, but none show the ability to tell whether an artiste is playing well or badly. They have no comprehension of melodic beauty or of the way a raga is developed. They respond only to one thing—speed. A virtuoso display draws by far the biggest applause, but there is no discrimination between true virtuosity and false, between the building of an beautiful taan and a mere flashy show. The *sawal-jawab* technique is another feature that appeals to the untutored listener.

Western music, both classical and popular, is built on a heavy beat. It is rhythm for marching, clapping or tapping the toes, and

it places very little value on intricate mathematical combinations. It sees rhythm as an animal impulse, rather than as an activity of the mind. Ananda Coomaraswamy expressed this contrast by calling Western rhythm "emphatic" and Indian "discursive", and it can be seen graphically illustrated at an Indian concert in America. While the vocalist and the tabalchi work together to create a complex interplay of melody and rhythm, Indian listeners applaud their skill at appropriate points-but Americans stamp their feet in time or clap their hands as if the music were an American marching tune or folk-song. The number of records of Indian classical music imported into the U. S. has grown greatly, and this is a factor often claimed as proof of the growth of a serious audience. But it must be remembered that more and more Indians are going to America, for short or extended stays. It is mainly they who are buying the records other than sitar or sarod. A point that must be noted is that, after a decade's exposure to classical music, American audiences' response to Indian vocal music is nil. A people respond to elements in foreign music which have some discernible resemblances to their own. As regards instruments there are similarities between Indian and Western. But vocal music is strange to their ears, because its technique, from voice "timbre" to the acrobatics of "taan", is completely alien. Even to the Westerner who wants to learn, it sounds like "gargling". Thus, Westerners by and large still have not passed beyond the stage of hearing a vague sound, an instrumental timbre, instead of penetrating the theory of music and understanding it for what it is even to the extent of hearing and appreciating the melodic and simple rhythmic elements, as the Indian layman does. If they had reached this stage, the proof would immediately be obvious; because the elements of melody and rhythm are common to both vocal and instrumental music. The minority audience presents a different aspect. It is this audience that our musicians are really referring to in their public statements. It is true that small bands of students in the university centres have begun to study the elements of classical theory. But even in this respect the situation is discouraging. This is the true state of Indian classical music in the U. S. today. There are a few exceptions to the rule, students who have grasped the real nature of the music and even learned it to a surprising degree, notably Jon Higgins, the American singer of Carnatic music who has learned enough to be taken seriously by the Indian public. But the majority of American students of Indian music bear scant resemblance to him. The acceptance of Indian music by Americans is wide but largely superficial. It could be called a vogue, or at most a permanent

but superficial part of American taste. It is not true at present that a serious audience is growing, but one may venture to make a prediction. The growing U. S. Government and private support of the study of Indian culture will enable sympathetic individuals like Higgins to come into contact with a world they might otherwise never have known, and it is this alone that will produce a small but truly understanding audience for Indian music in America. (Joan Mubayi in *I. W. I.* August 8, 1971).

TAGORE AS ARTIST

At the age of 67, Rabindranath Tagore turned to painting not with the intention of becoming an artist but prompted by vague yearnings of a creative mind. In his *Reminiscences*, he writes, "I remember how I would lie on the covered floor in the afternoon, with an sketch book in Hand trying to draw—more like toying with picture-making than an exercise in the fine arts. The most important part of this play was what remained in the mind and of which no trace was left on paper." Eventually, Tagore turned an artist, leisurely working out a pattern based on deletions and erasures in his manuscripts and allowing his subconscious mind to release the unrealised visualisations. "None would have disliked more than Tagore," says Stella Kramrish, "a verbalising of the form and content of his painting and drawings. They were the vent outside his literary work for impulses and realisations not within the scope of words. They were, moreover, expressions of freedom and leisure. No tradition and no responsibility towards them determined their form. They fitted moments of relaxation and owed no allegiance other than to the impetus which provoked them." The absence of training allowed Tagore to paint for himself without having to submit to any school or style but only to satisfy an inner craving. (In a letter to his niece, Indira Devi, in 1893, he had said: "If I were to confess without fear or shame, I may as well tell you that very often I cast looks of longing, after the fashion of a disappointed lover, towards the muse of Fine Art"). Over 2,500 paintings and drawings, done during the last thirteen years of his life, bear testimony to his individual approach to art—"genuine examples of modern primitive art", as Ananda Coomaraswamy described them, ".....the end is not Art with a capital A, on the one hand—nor, on the other, a mere pathological self-expression; not art intended to improve our minds, nor to provide the artist an 'escape', but without ulterior motives, truly innocent, like the creation of a universe." "Tagore himself looked upon his paint-

ings and drawings as forming an "epilogue" to his creative work. "What is the meaning of all this?" he asked. "When all the different chapters of the book of my life were about to close, the presiding deity of my life has felt pleased to provide me this unprecedented opportunity and the wherewithal for composing its epilogue." Drops and loops or angular delineations characterise Tagore's search of form and, colourwise, he retains a certain luminosity or opacity to gain for his work an original feel. Whether he was a forerunner of modern art in India is open to debate, but Rabindranath Tagore did show to the artists of those cloistered days the importance of imagination and experimentation in art. (*I. W. I.*, dated 9-5-1971).

BHOGA MELA

Bhoga Mela is a festival of joy. It is a traditional dance form performed by the Devadasis of the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. The theme is erotic and it attracts large crowds of spectators. For centuries Bhoga Mela dances were a part of temple functions and processions. They were also performed during marriages of the well-to-do and at other ceremonies. Devadasis were the beneficiaries of manyams and inams (temple lands set apart for their maintenance). The system of "dedicating" Devadasis to deities was abolished in 1947 by the Government of Madras of which Andhra was a part at that time. With this their privileges were abolished, and as a result the arts associated with Devadasis began to decline. Bhoga Mela dances can no longer be performed in temples and public places as they once were. They are now restricted to "protected pandals". Occasionally, a village or town still adhering to old traditions arranges a performance on a festive day. Men and women from nearby places flock to the pandal hours before the commencement of the programme. If classical art forms like Bharata Natyam have survived due to their artistic content and appeal, it is the masculine clamour for lust and passion that has nurtured Bhoga Mela. Girls in their teens and twenties dance to songs of love and ecstasy. Their pace is quick, in keeping with the pulsating rhythm of the mridangam and the tabla. While they sing of sringara, they wobble and hug each other. The dance keeps on gaining tempo as the songs reach a high pitch and the drums work up to a crescendo. The climax is a rapturous riot of suggestive verses, rhythmic beats, seductive movements and salacious music. For each number there is a different set of girls. A show usually lasts five, six, or even seven hours. One

feature of these dances that makes the performance doubly attractive to the drowds is this: the dancers mix with spectators, even clasping their hands, offer pan and receive *bakshish*. The closer they get to the spectators, the better they are rewarded. Cash, jewellery, wrist-watches are given away. Bakshish earned in cash is strictly shared amongst themselves, but the gifts given in kind are kept by the respective recipients. The dancers have no pretensions to art. If you were looking for bare bosoms or navels or thighs, you would be disappointed. For the girls are always dressed in good taste, in saris and cholis with a profusion of jewellery and flowers. At times they wear costumes of yesteryear-brocated saris and gold waist-bands. Many wear modern fabrics like voiles and organdies. Though not classical, Bhoga Mela dances conform to a tradition. No extempore antics are permitted. The music consists of either jawalis, kirtans and padams or age-old folk-songs of amorous import. Girls dance as peacocks and snakes and drunks-they dance to the invocation of the gods with lighted lamps in their hands. They perform singly, in twos or threes, or in groups of more, according to the pieces they render. Like the belly-dancers and cabaret artistes, they rock their curves a lot-and their behinds too-but without stripping. Bhoga Mela dancers have their codes and customs and they follow them strictly. They do not perform on a raised platform. They dance only on the ground, over a carpet. The dancers confine their parties to their community. A member cannot quit a group to join another unless she pays the leader of the group a stipulated sum. At present there are 20 or 35 Mela groups, all of them in the East Godavari district (the bulk of them and the best are in Rajahmundry). Since they cannot easily make a living, many have taken to other occupations. Some have started a new vogue of vulgar dancing, popularly known as "Recording Dances". The younger generation is keen to become educated, and they are encouraged by their elders. (A. R. Krishnan in *I. W. I.*, dated 27-6-71).

SECTION VII: NOTES AND NEWS

January 1971: Addressing the plenary session of the Unesco 16th Conference held in November at Paris as the leader of the Indian delegation, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, Union Minister of Education and Youth Services, said that the defences of peace needed to be built not only in the minds of men as the constitution of the Unesco suggested, but more especially in the minds of children and youth to whom the future really belonged. In order to educate the rising generation, Prof. Rao suggested three concrete programmes. The first was the preparation of a children's encyclopaedia, which could introduce them to the basic aspects of knowledge and culture of all peoples. The second was the compilation of books containing the world's best stories, which would introduce them to the cultural, moral and spiritual treasures of mankind. The third was the preparation of a children's history of world civilization, which would show how man slowly but definitely moved towards creation of a world social order based on peace, mutual understanding, tolerance, goodwill and cooperation. He also suggested that all member states of Unesco should resolve to use these basic books in all their educational systems, so that they permeate the thoughts and feelings of all children and youth irrespective of their country of birth. (C. N. I.).

January 1971: There had been some solid work in the field of research on the utility of Yoga as a therapy. The Yoga Institute of Santa Cruz which has been crusading for the recognition of Yoga as a mode of better living during the last 32 years, recently carried out an extensive research on Yoga as therapy. Fourteen specialists in various branches of medicine, which included Ayurved Pandit Shiv Sharma, Cardiologist Dr. K. K. Datey, psychiatrist Dr. N. S. Vahia and Sri Yogendraji together compiled their conclusions in the form of a report and this has been submitted to the Government. The report was prepared in the months between May and September 1970. According to the report, neurosis and schizophrenic cases showed as much as 82.3 per cent improvement. Thirtyfive to fifty-two per cent improvement was shown in cases of hypertension, asthma and diabetes. In the case of rhinitis and sinusitis there was a hundred per cent progress. (C. N. I.).

1—3—1971: Cultural exchanges among Asian countries will be promoted by a Unesco Asian Cultural Centre which will be opened next month in Tokyo. The Centre will also seek ways to aid the preservation of cultural monuments in Asia. (*Unesco Features*, No. 594, March (I), 1971).

3—3—1971: Ten craftsmen from different parts of the country were selected for this year's National Award for Master-craftsmen. For the first time eight exporters were also selected this year for National Awards for their outstanding performance in different branches of Indian handicrafts during 1969-70. The awards were presented by the President, Shri V. V. Giri at a ceremony held in New Delhi on February 17. The following are the craftsmen who got the National Awards-1971; Kumudini Devi, Bihar (Sikki work); N. M. Rawal, Delhi (Stone-carving); Mul Raj Palaha 'Hoshiarpuri', Delhi (Tarkashi work); Bhulabhai Chunilal Chitara, Gujarat (Kalamkari); Simhadri Moharana, Orissa (Horn work); Malchand, Rajasthan (Sandalwood carving); T. S. Ekambaram, Tamilnadu (Papier Mache); Haji Raza Husain, Uttar Pradesh, (Brass engraving); Mohammed Umar, Uttar Pradesh (Brocade weaving); Abdul Khaliq, Uttar Pradesh (Ivory carving). In addition ten craftsmen-three from Uttar Pradesh, two from Andhra Pradesh and one each from Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Punjab and Tamilnadu-received certificates of Merit. These awards cover Kalamkari work, tortoise shell and ivory work, tarkashi work, Dhokra metal work, inlay work, icon making, brass engraving and enamelling. (C. N. I., Vol. Twelve, Number two, March 1971).

3—3—1971: The Sangeet Natak Akademi (Performing Arts) held an interesting Seminar on the Significance of Traditional Drama in Contemporary Theatre. A large number of theatre workers-actors, directors, play-wrights, critics-attended from various parts of the country and the discussion was lively. A great number of directors have been experimenting with traditional forms and all were keen on further study and preservation of the various styles. The Akademi combined this Seminar with a series of interesting performances of traditional drama, music and dance. The programmes included Bhavai from Gujarat, Keertan from West Bengal, Devaranama (Mysore); Abhang (Maharashtra), Natya Sangeet (Maharashtra), Shabad Kirtan (Punjab); Tevaram (Madras), Qawwali (Upper India); Rajasthani Music: Nat Qual, Qualbana & Basant; Thumri, Dadra & Gazal (Begum Akhtar). (C. N. I. Vol. Twelve, Number Two, March 1971).

3—3—1971: The Sangeet Natak Akademi awards for 1970, include two each in the Hindustani and Karnatak schools of music: four in dance—one each in Bharatanatyam, Kathakali, Odissi and creative and experimental dances; four in theatre—one each in playwriting, play-production, acting and traditional theatre. Each award carries with it Rs. 5,000 in cash and a citation. The Akademi selected the following artistes for awards:

Music: Hindustani vocal: Nisar Hussain Khan; Karnatak vocal: M. L. Vasantha Kumari; Hindustani instrumental (Tabla): Masit Khan; Karnatak instrumental (Veena): Mysore V. Doraiswamy Iyengar.

Dance: Bharatnatyam: Shanta Rao; Kathakali: Mankulam Vishnu Nambudiri; Odissi: Pankaj Charan Das; Creative and experimental dance: Mrinalini Sarabhai.

Drama: Playwriting: Vijay Tendulkar; Direction: Adi Marzban; Acting: Saraju Bala Devi; Traditional theatre: Keramane Shivram Hegde (Yakshagana).

Fellows Selected: Kapila Vatsyayan; K. C. D. Brahaspati; Dilip Chandra Vedi. (C. N. I., Vol. Twelve Number Two March 1971).

March 1971: An appeal has been launched by the Director-General, inviting universities, institutes of higher learning, and scientific organizations in 34 countries to take part in safeguarding cultural treasures on sites due to be submerged by the waters of a dam being constructed in the upper basin of the Euphrates, 170 kilometres from Aleppo in Syria. Several outstanding monuments in and around 30 archaeological sites, ranging from neolithic to late Moslem, are threatened in this cradle of great civilizations. The appeal through 34 governments was made at the request of the Syrian Government, which is anxious to enlist all possible help for this large undertaking. To show its gratitude to those helping in the transfer of monuments and in archaeological excavations, the government intends that half of the finds will go to the missions carrying out the excavations. The Syrian authorities will also provide scientific, technical and financial help under agreements made separately with each mission. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XVII, No. 3).

March, 1971: Since the announcement, in February 1969, of the decipherment of the Indus script much time and energy have been devoted to the study of Indian culture. Two Indian scholars,

Mr. R. Panneerselvam and Mr. P. R. Subramanian, both graduates of the Universities of Kerala, have in turn been elected and sponsored by the International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras, for whose interest and good services in the planning of our programme we are most grateful. The Finnish scholars who were responsible for the decipherment are convinced that the language spoken and written in the Indus valley during the days of its ancient civilization was what they call proto-Dravidian, and that affinities exist between that culture and those of the Dravidian-speaking Southern India. For purposes of comparison a more intensive study of Tamil culture in the early centuries of the Christian era could prove particularly rewarding. For the better understanding of the languages and cultures of early Tamilnad various research schemes have been designed. One is the compilation of an index of the names and titles of gods and persons in early Tamil inscriptions, another the preparation of a concordance to the early Tamil Sangam literature. It was decided that for the analysis of the language, as such, the most important research tool would be a Tamil lexicon converted into machine-readable form. Punched on tape all the schemes have been designed in order to create some useful quantitative data. Mr. Panneerselvam, who worked at the institute from September 1969 till September 1970, began the index of names and titles of gods and persons which appear in the Tamil inscriptions published in the volumes of South-Indian inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India. With the assistance of Mr. Donald Wagner, who is the teacher in computer linguistics in the East Asian Institute, he prepared a computer concordance for two of the Cankam texts which belong to the earliest literature in Tamil. The concordance and the uses for which it was made were presented by Mr. Panneerselvam in a paper delivered at the Third International Conference of Tamil Studies in Paris July 1970. It will shortly be published. Turning the Tamil lexicon into machine-readable form is the most ambitious and time consuming of the tasks so far undertaken. The typing of 125,000 words on the Dura Tempo-writer has been completed, and our thanks are due to Mrs. Setsuko Bergholdt for an immense typing effort. When the entries have been checked against the words in the Tamil lexicon by Mr. Subramanian, we shall feed the tape into the computer and make a programme which arranges and counts the first and the latter parts of the compound words and reverses the dictionary. This will give us an opportunity to study the development of compound words and phrase formation in Tamil.

The Publication of the concordance of the available Harappan inscriptions has been delayed owing to some technical problems. It demands some ingenuity even to an experienced programmer to arrange for the drawing by computer of the Indus signs. We hope, however, to be able to publish the edition in the course of the spring. Dr. Asko Parpola has continued his work on the decipherment and plans to present some of his findings in a book on the world view of the Indus people which will appear in the near future. A collection of Tamil documents in the Danish State Archives is being catalogued by Mr. Panneerselvam and Mr. Subramanian. The documents are mostly letters addressed to the Danish officials in Tranquebar by their Indian subjects. The words are written down as they were pronounced and thus give interesting information about 18th-century language; A series of Oriental Document catalogues is being prepared under the auspices of Unesco and further details for their work will be provided for this publication. (*Newsletter of the Sandinavian Institute of Asian Studies*, March 1971).

March 1971: A new type of personality must be conceived of for the man of the future. This is what Mr. Edgar Faure, a former French premier and education minister, has told the newly created International Commission for the development of Education. Mr. Faure, speaking to the seven member commission of which he is president, was stressing the importance of considering problems of education in the wide context of rapid, economic and technological changes throughout the world. "The fact that man must learn how to learn, how to work in a team and that he is in competition with machines that undertake activities hitherto considered as specifically human, necessarily leads to conceiving of a new type of personality for the man of the future", he said when the Unesco sponsord commission held its first meeting in Paris. The commission, set up by the Unesco General Conference last November should submit its report by the end of this year. After carrying out investigation throughout the world and meeting again several times at Unesco headquarters, the commission will draw up its report. This will include recommendations which national governments will be able to take into account when planning educational policies. Education in the future, the commission members believe, should be guided by the following principles :

Democratisation of education : A concept tied to that of social justice, which is a major idea of our time ;

— Development of all aspects of the human personality through an education that not only provides knowledge but creates personalities who use their knowledge in action;

— A culture that is humanist, scientific and technical and which brings out the relationship between humanism and technology. (*Unesco Features*, No. 595, March (II), 1971).

2—4—1971. The International Commission for the Development of Education, set up by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) last November, concluded its first meeting on 19th March. The Commission decided that among the principles which must guide new strategies for educational development in the future were the democratization of education, the development of human personality in all its aspects, and scientific humanism. (*United Nations Weekly Newsletter*, Vol. 19, No. 14, d/2—4—71).

April 1971: The improvement of 'teacher education' has long been one of Unesco's major objectives. In this connexion, the 1971-1972 programme provides for the expansion of services to Member States for planning and implementing training programmes, greater emphasis on the interdisciplinary character of such training, the utilization of modern methods and techniques and the elaboration of new patterns for the lifelong education of school teachers and staff of teacher training colleges, school inspectors, educational advisers and administrators. To pave the way for the introduction of a system of lifelong education, case studies will be conducted and detailed research carried out, making use of modern educational methods and the new information media. Unesco will continue to develop and maintain various regional institutions and services in this domain, and will act as executing agency for a number of projects benefitting from Undp assistance. (*Unesco Chronicle*, Vol. XVII, No. 47).

April 1971: The United Nations has designated 1971 as the International Year to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. As part of its programme for the year, Unesco was host to a series of five lectures on "The Racial Question and Modern Thought". Prof. Levi-Strauss, one of the lecturers, observed: "Modern society is further than ever from the conditions that would reduce racial prejudice and is, in fact, on the path to far worse intolerance. Racial antagonisms result from the growing difficulty of living together unconsciously experienced by people everywhere under the pressure of the population explosion.

Western culture has allowed certain sections of mankind to deny human dignity to other sections 'forgetting that if man is worthy of respect, it is as a living being rather than as lord and master of creation'. In this regard I would like to see men everywhere draw inspiration from the precepts of the Buddhist Orient". Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah said: "There is an international commitment to avert and finally eliminate a racial conflict. The first commitment for the future is a moral and personal one. The second commitment for the future is the development of the moral standards that we have laid down for ourselves in the Charter, the U. N. Declaration, the Unesco constitution and the amended International Labour Organization constitution. The third commitment for the future is in the urgent areas of economic growth and social structures. The growing gap between the rich and poor and the air of indifference that this widening gap seems to generate is an immediate menace.

Nikolai Dubinin speaking on Races and Contemporary Genetics, observed: "Growing numbers of people and mixtures between races and other groups are the two essential characteristics of modern populations. In biological terms, all of them are at an equally high level. Since 1492, when Columbus discovered America, there has been a trend towards the unification of mankind within a giant genetically uniform population. On the whole, it is safe to say that, today, approximately one half of mankind is a product of racial mixtures. Unlike animals, man is a rational being and has developed, in addition to his genetic programme, another form of heredity controlling the evolution of every succeeding generation, which the professor called the social inheritance. He stressed the direct bearing of social inheritance on the racial problem and said: "Social messages are acquired anew by every generation, unlike genetic structures. And the conductor of these social messages is our system of education. Every man possesses consciousness and hence, given a favourable environment, is capable of ascending the summit of culture." (*Unesco Features*. No. 596/597-April (I/II, 1971.)

April 1971: Educational television is not the answer to the politician's prayer for a miraculous way to teach more children without spending more money on schools. This point seemed to draw general agreement amidst the healthy controversy generated at a recent international meeting on the natural sciences and television organized at Saarbrücken by the German National Commission for Unesco. Participants at the conference represented

the worlds of education and television. After extensive experimentation, some of the educators had grown wary of TV because of the medium's apparent inability to permit feed-back that is, discussion between students and teacher. This is all the more serious because schools and universities the world over are in more or less open revolt against the old way of teaching with one professor lecturing to a few hundred students. At a time when small groups and seminars are in demand, television seems to accentuate the problem by multiplying the passive audience many times over. "When there is one-way communication, there is no communication" (*Unesco Features*, April (I/II), 1971).

8—5—1971: An exhibition of Indian handicrafts opened at the Museum of Arts of Oriental Peoples. George Timoshin, Chief of the Administration for Fine Arts and Preservation of Relics under the USSR. Ministry of Culture, said at its opening: "This is not the first exhibition organized as part of the programme of cultural co-operation signed between the USSR and India. Not long ago the exhibition 'History of India in Dolls' was displayed in this museum, and two exhibitions 'Handicrafts of the Soviet Union' and 'Contemporary Soviet Fine Arts' were on display in India last year."

The Museum of Arts of Oriental Peoples has a large and valuable collection of works by Indian artists. This exhibition supplements and expands the understanding of Soviet people of the ancient Indian Art and handicrafts, and her modern masters. The display included 250 works by folk craftsmen. Weaving is one of the most ancient crafts in India. One is attracted by the various saris, silk, cotton, plain, striped or chequered; brocade with interwoven silver and golden threads, very varied in pattern and colour schemes, and fabrics covered with painting and embroidery.

Jewellery is a traditional part of Indian women's attire. It is hard to find any other country which produces such a great number and variety of items of jewellery made of gold, silver, bronze, glass, wood and brass. The massive but nobly shaped ornaments of the mountain tribes of India, the elegant filigree work by masters from Orissa and Murshidabad, and the multi-coloured enamel ware from Lucknow are a feast for the eye.

The wood-carving tradition is preserved in India to this day. Among the items on display are wooden toys, puppets and masks, which seem to be living characters from Indian fairy tales.

These gems of Indian handicrafts evoke great admiration for the talents of the folk craftsmen. (*Moscows News*)

May 1971: There has come to be in our day a species of boneless and faceless philosophy of universal goodness bearing the adorable name of brotherhood. By softness of speech and smoothness of manner it hopes to overcome the hard rocks of psychology which rise as a wall between group and group and race and race. If we would work for world peace and human brotherhood, it is inevitable that we should recognise not only diversity of race and class but also the naturalness of prejudice incidental to such a diversity. Complexion, contours of the body, feature of eye and nose and lip, body smells and movements of the muscle—all such details of physical life are factors in attracting or repelling human beings. To ask that you should transcend the effects of face and feature, and smell and sound is to ask you to become a transcendentalist, one superior to the influences of physical form and complexion. The old Hindu philosophers called such a person 'Jnani' or 'Yogi'. Nothing in the external world mattered to him. He was equal-eyed, or equal-blind to the surface of things. If a whole race and a whole country of 'Jnanis' is practicable there could be no problem of race or caste. But can we imagine a whole world inhabited by men and women who are perfect 'Jnanis'? Until we can usher in such a world of perfected beings we have to put up with race and caste with all their potencies of prejudice and aversion, and the way of so living in this very imperfect world is to accustom ourselves to ways of tolerance and reconciliation. The way of peaceful co-existence is that each distinct element is assured of its safety, non-meddling with another in fields where another is not wanted. This is the way also to inter-racial peace. In brief, it will be enough if races and castes assure one another of their right to exist, and exist purposefully. (*Public Affairs*, Bangalore).

May, 1971: A special working group composed of eight distinguished educators met from 2 to 9 March at Unesco headquarters in Paris. Appointed in their individual capacity, they came from Colombia, France, Hungary, Japan, Netherlands, United Arab Republic, U. S. A. and Yugoslavia and were invited by Unesco's Director-General to submit recommendations concerning the creation of an international university under the auspices of the United Nations. This university was first discussed in 1969 during the 24th session of the United Nations General Assembly when Secretary-General U Thant suggested that the time was ripe to consider seriously the creation of an establishment which

could have a truly international character and be dedicated to the promotion of international understanding both politically as well as culturally. The United Nations Economic and Social Council (Ecosco) subsequently invited Unesco's General Conference to carry out a study on the various concepts of such a university and submit its findings to the United Nations General Assembly. This was agreed to by Unesco's sixteenth session of the General Conference meeting in October-November 1970. Bearing in mind the working group's recommendations, it is hoped to carry out other enquires and studies with a view to obtaining the widest possible range of opinions from international organizations and governments as well as university sources. Unesco will then employ consultants to resolve particularly complex questions and use their conclusions as a base for its final report on the feasibility of an international university. [This report will in turn be submitted to an expert committee next August and then to the Executive Board at its 88th session in the autumn of 1971. (*Unesco Chronicle*, May 1971).

May, 1971: The establishment committee for the proposed Asian Cultural Centre for Unesco Activities met on 24 March in Tokyo for the first time to commence official formalities of incorporation. The said Cultural Centre will be legally incorporated by the end of April and its office will be housed in the Japan Book Publishers Association Buildings 6 Fukuro-machi, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo. Financially this Centre is based on the contribution of private funds and subsidies from the government, and the budget of the Centre for the fiscal year 1971 is 66,867,000 yen or approximately \$186,000. The Centre aims to contribute to the mutual understanding and the cultural development of Asian region through promotion of cultural exchange and through several projects to conserve cultural relics and traditional cultural heritages. The functions of the Centre are: (1) to exchange information on policies, on culture and on cultural development, (2) to promote the change of personnel to assist cultural development, (3) to conduct researches on traditional cultures and to cooperate on their conservation and utilization and (4) to carry out other projects needed to attain the objectives of the Centre. The proposed projects of this year and for 1972 are to organize seminars for the revivification of the traditional arts of the Asia region, seminars of the renovation techniques of cultural treasures, campaign to conserve "Borobudur", field survey, experts meeting on technical assistance and the production of a chart which shows

the distribution of cultural heritages in the Asian region. (*Unesco—Asia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1971).

May, 1971: It is proposed to hold an International Sanskrit Conference from 11th to 22nd December, 1971, in New Delhi. The theme of the conference will be "The contribution of Sanskrit to world languages, Literatures, Cultures and Civilizations". (*Unesco—Asia*, Vol. 3, No. 2, dated May 1971).

May, 1971: An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815 A.D. prepared by the Unesco National Commission has been published by Unesco and is priced at 90 shillings; it is edited by C. H. B. Reynolds. Among the translators are Dr. S. Paranavithane, Dr. D. E. Hettiarachchi and W. G. Archer. The Selections in the Anthology range from Buddhistic teachings on Nirvana to tales of disciplinary habits of Ceylonese School Masters and includes extracts from the best known writers of ancient Ceylon. The Anthology starts with fragments of phrases scribbled on a plaster wall from 6th to 9th Centuries and beautiful poems of 15–16 Centuries. The latter parts of the Anthology bring the story down to the extinction of Ceylonese independence with the British capture of Kandy in 1815. (*Unesco—Asia*, Vol. 3 No. 2, May, 1971).

15—6—1971: Under the dynamic guidance of its director, Prof. Dr. H. Haertel, the Berlin Museum of Indian Art has continued the excavation work on the Mound of Sonkh near Mathura (U.P.) The ancient site with 3,000 years of habitation has so far unfolded twentysix layers of civilization leading through the Jat, Moghul, Medieval, Gupta and Kushana periods, revealing fortifications and settlements and a rich harvest of ceramics and terracottas, stone pieces, coins and jewellery. The excavation season of 1969–70 had culminated in the discovery of an apsidal structure believed to be a place of worship from the 2nd century A.D. The main figurative find was the first Kushana bronze ever unearthed in Mathura district with images of a bowl-carrying male deity in abhaya-gesture and an animal-faced female companion holding a child. (*German News*, June 15, 1970).

15—6—1971: Common approach to the plastic arts and different techniques in sculpture came in for mutual discussions when the well known Indian sculptor, Amar Nath Sehgal made a fraternal call on the German sculptor Ernemann Sander at the latter's studio in Oberdollendorf, a suburb of Bonn. In

the course of his recent study tour of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Sehgal visited various exhibitions, art galleries, museums and academies and met leading German artists, sculptors, art directors, in order to have first-hand impressions of the latest thinking and trends in the world of art. (*German News*, June 15, 1970).

June 1971: D. V. Gundappa observes in *Public Affairs* Vol. XV, No. 6 on Citizenship and Respect for Authority: "Bagehot thought that to the popular mind there was something semi-mysterious about the working of monarchy in his country and that it was this element of the mystique that maintained the awe and reverence which the populace felt for the State and its institutions. Earlier than Bagehot, Burke described the State as something quasi-divine and deserving of implicit respect. Reverence for authority was to him the first condition of good citizenship. This must have been the meaning of Manu when he said that the personality of the Ruler, even though an infant, should be treated never with discourtesy. It is divinity in human form: *Bālopi Nāvamantavyaha*. But in the excesses of publicity incidental to the democratic process, there is something that inevitably cheapens the workings of government. Every movement of a minister is watched and reported; every casual word of a legislator is put on record. No party leader can ever sneeze except within the earshot of a pressman. Every twitch of muscle of everybody who is anybody is photographed and presented. Where is then anything of the mystique left? So it must come about that the street corners and market squares are always buzzing with political gossip and chit-chat. So everybody knows everything; and every move or motive is understood and analysed before the event. Where is secrecy? The quidnunc is the statesman of democracy and the scoop-journalist is its prophet.

July 1971: A significant contribution to the study of contemporary art history is being made now in Western India. The pioneer is Mr. Ratan Parimoo, Head of the Department of Art, History and Aesthetics, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Baroda. No university in India has so far attempted to collect material and develop a library of the nature that Mr. Parimoo has undertaken. Mr. Parimoo came and spent weeks in Bombay hunting out significant artists and their works. He collected both colour transparencies and black-and-white photographs. The department has no separate budget for the purpose but as one engaged in teaching art history and responsible for the Department

he had rationed out resources in such a way that his own labour could make an art history library at the university. So far, Mr. Parimoo said, he had gathered some 3,000 documents including catalogues, reviews, bio-data and other source material on contemporary artists. Among the contemporary artists he counted those who came on the scene of Abanindranath Tagore. Even the promising young painters were on his list. Some talented young painters, who ceased to be creative in recent years, were dropped. His only consideration for including his work in the library was the artist's continued creative activity. Mr. Parimoo has travelled some parts of the country on his documentation mission during holidays. The idea behind the whole library was to develop a tradition of art appreciation in India. (C.N.I., Volume 12, No. 4, July 1971).

July, 1971: In her exhibition "India Through the Dolls", Mrs. Ashima Mukherjee presented a hundred and odd dolls made of cloth, representing people of different parts of India. Except for the head which is made from a paper pulp mould, she uses cotton, rags, thread and needlework for the rest of the body. Her dolls were exhibited in the Berlin Festival in 1967 and have since been in great demand. Usually six to eight inches high, they are very colourful and attractive, particularly *The Rajasthani Pair*, *Bengali lady on way to draw water*, *The Santhali Girl*, *The Bharatnatyam Dancer* and *the Nagas*. With a view to popularising the art of doll making, Mrs. Mukherjee has started giving lessons to the interested girls at her residence and at the Y. W. C. A. (C.N.I., Vol. 12, No. 4, dated July 1971).

July, 1971: The First World Congress of University Presidents met in Manila, the Philippines to discuss the theme "World Peace Through Education" More than 500 University heads from all over the world attended the Congress. (*Unesco Features*, No. 600, dated June (I), 1971).

August, 1971: Dancers and musicians from eight South East Asian countries participated in the first international Ramayana festival held from 31 August in Indonesia. The festival events were performed in several places in Java and Bali. The dancers presented variations of the epic story of Rama. The dance troupes came from Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Thailand as well as different regions of Indonesia. (*Unesco Features*, No. 600, June (I), 1971).

September, 1971: Twenty university chancellors, professors and administrators will meet at Unesco's Paris headquarters from September 27 to October 1 to prepare the way for setting up a European centre for higher education. The centre will promote the exchange of experience, stimulate innovation and research into teaching and improve contact between institutions in different countries. It will include a data bank of information on the structure, methods and programmes of higher education in Europe, which will be analysed by computer. The new centre could begin to operate at the beginning of 1973. The location of its headquarters is one of the questions to be discussed at the Unesco meeting. This will be attended by observers from the Council of Europe, the OECD, the Comecon, the International Association of Universities and other bodies concerned with education. (*Unesco Features*, No. 606, September (I), 1971).

September, 1971: Twenty-seven experts from 23 countries meeting at Unesco have urged the early setting up of an international centre of research and education as a pilot project for a proposed international university. The idea of an international university dedicated to international understanding was suggested by U Thant to the United Nations General Assembly in 1969. Unesco agreed to carry out a feasibility study and the experts approved a draft for this. The results of the study will now go before the Unesco's Executive Board when it meets in Paris in September. (*Unesco Features*, No. 606, September (I), 1971).

1-10-1971: On an invitation from G. D. R. Mrs. Primula Pandit, a ceramist from Bombay, visited the State Porcelain Manufactory at Meissen and the Porcelain Exhibition of the famous Dresden Art Collection. She observed: "In Europe it is now rare to find such excellent standards of craftsmanship as exist every where in the GDR. At a time when handicrafts are being more and more displaced by industrial methods of production, it made me very happy to see how in your country the greatest care and attention is paid to arts and crafts. Everywhere I went I found a masterly interpretation of traditional folklore motifs with modern decors in keeping with our times. (*Democratic Germany*, Vol. VI, No. 19, dated 1-10-1971).

SECTION VIII : REVIEWS

Antariksh Yug me Sancar: Hindi (Translation); UNESCO (Central Hindi Directorate - Ministry of Education, Government of India through Rajkamal Prakashan, Delhi - Pages 284; Price Rs. 9/-).

It was in the year 1945 that Arthur C. Clarks predicted on scientific grounds the possibility of communications through earth-satellites. It became an established fact in 1962 for the first time when words, pictures, radio bulletins and television programmes were relayed in external space with the means of artificial satellites. The rapid growth of this rare means of communication is reflected not only in the technological arena but also in the field of our social contacts, international and national. Of late it has touched the home level too, thereby signifying a possible change in the values of all old orders.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the scientific literature in Hindi for which there has been a dearth. The agency of this publication deserves congratulations for bringing out 22 very informative and thought-provoking articles under nine headings dealing with 'Communication in Space Age'. The subject evidently is highly essential for understanding the present fast moving space age. The various problems under different levels have been well explained and the views of international scholars adequately presented. Readers of this book will be amply benefited in understanding the new space age in the context of satellites and telecommunications. However, the language and style are a little too pedantic. It would have been better had the book offered a little more of corresponding Hindi-English technical terms.

S. SHANKAR RAJU.

Scientists-A Social Psychological Study by Sri Chandra: (Published by Oxford-IBH-1970. Publishing Co., Pp. 272. Price Rs. 25).

The book under review contains the plan, procedure and results of a social psychological study on the frustration among Indian Scientists, sponsored by the Research Programme Committee,

Planning Commission, New Delhi. The author has done an excellent job of bringing out this timely publication stressing the need for a more conducive atmosphere for work indispensable for the optional functioning of our research scientists.

Based on the general assumption that frustration is primarily responsible for low achievement of scientists, several hypotheses relating to the psycho-dynamics of frustration at work situation have been carefully framed and tested on a sizable sample of 524 scientists actually engaged in research and research cum teaching. Maslow's S. I. Inventory, Sinha's W. A. Self analysis form and satisfaction-Dissatisfaction Scale have been used as the standard measures of frustration, on the basis of which, two criterion groups were further selected for an intensive study with the help of interview and TAT. The data has been treated well with adequate statistical techniques.

It was found that incongruence in the image of the self and that of the authority, perception of one's incompetence and that of authority, undue interference on the part of the Government and authorities in the research work and extra scientific consideration in the matter of formulation and financing of research have been the general sources of frustration among the scientists.

Being a very useful research study, its suggestions deserve immediate consideration and necessary implementation.

Dr. M. S. KALANIDHI.

S. Padmanabhan: *The Forgotten History of the Land's End*: Kumaran Pathippagam, Ramavarmapuram, Nagercoil 1, 1971, Pp. VI + 92, Price Rs. 2.00.

In this booklet, the author, an enthusiastic free-lance journalist, has condensed a variety of religious, historical and literary material concerning the southernmost point of India-Cape Kanyakumari-and its environs. Recognized as one of the most ancient sites of Indian civilization, the wealth of cultural data available to us concerning that area has not been adequately tapped, and the author justifiably bemoans the absence of an authoritative history of that civilization. The Ādicchanallur culture-(Ādicchanallur is a village 50 miles to the east of Kanyakumari)-has been dated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and others as circa 2,000 B. C. Tamil literary evidence, as well as tradition, disclose the existence of a

vast submerged sub-continent extending to the south of the Cape, and there are geographical and topographical evidences in the still surviving areas to corroborate it. Nevertheless, those data have not received enough notice from historians even today, the 25th year of the renaissance of Tamil culture.

There are in this booklet many revelatory statements, which seem to be unorthodox, but still happen to be convincing. The illustrious author of the earliest extant grammar of the Tamil language, '*Tholkāppiam*', had also been called '*Āthankōttu-Āsān*' (Master-preceptor of Āthankōdu). Now, this Āthankōdu is situated 20 miles to the west of Kanyakumari within that self-same district. The late Prof. S. Viyapuri Pillai had identified Thiruvithānkōdu (Thiru-Āthan-Kōdu), the ancient capital of the former Travancore State, which is now a village 11 miles to the west of the Cape, as the birth-place of the world-famous grammarian, *Tholkāppianār*. As he was one of the 12 disciples of the Sage Agastya, the first discoverer of the Tamil language, and as Agastyakudam (The Pothiyil Hills) and Agastyeswaram (The Siva shrine where Agastya worshipped) are also in the same district, the author's conclusion seems to be reasonable.

The author again equates *Thiru-Veragam*, one of the six holy abodes of the Lord Murugan of *Thiru Murugātruppadaī*, now identified with *Swamimalai* of the Tanjore district, with the hill shrine of *Kumarakoil*, situated 18 miles to the west of the Cape. His arguments deserve serious consideration by researchers. And lastly, he argues that the two Tamil literary giants, Avvaiyar and *Thiruvalluvar*, must also have been natives of the same district.

There are vestiges of Jaina, Buddhist, Christian and Islamic ascendancy in the area at different epochs of history, besides the inevitable Hindu cults of various sects. Literary tradition seems to have modified the original Jaina name '*Nanjil*' (with short 'A') into '*Nānjil*' (with a long 'A'). The former name means 'The shrine of Parsvanatha', the Jaina Theerthankara, whose symbol was the cobra. (Nanju in Tamil means a poisonous snake and 'IL' means a shrine). The same connotation survives still in the modern name of the city of 'Nāgercoil'. Nānjil, 'with the long 'A'', means 'The home or shrine of the ploughshare'. When other adjoining tracts in *Thirunelvely* were also more fertile, why should this smaller tract be alone called '*Nānjil*'? Inscriptional evidence is available about the village of Theroor, near Suchindram, which was originally called '*Theran Theranūr*'. 'The Village of Buddhist Thera, (or pontiff). Barake, a sea port, referred to by the

the ancient Greek Geographer *Ptolemy* and the Greek author of the '*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*', has now been questionably identified with *Porakkad*, a coastal village to the south of Alleppey, when we have already the ancient port of *Parakkai* a few miles to the west of Kanyākumari. And lastly, Āvanacchery and Āvaneeswaram are two villages in Central Travancore, situated on the banks of two navigable rivers, and it needs no great ingenuity to identify them as 'Yavanancheri' and 'Yavaneswaram' respectively, colonies of 'Yavanas' (Greeks and Romans). Excavations and deeper topographical studies may yield startling results concerning the Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Phoenician cultural impacts on the Kanyākumari civilization.

Mr. Padmanabhan's aim was but to open the eyes of the educated Indians and foreign scholars, who visit Kanyākumari district to the untapped cultural wealth of India's land's end area, and not to write a monograph himself. He has included 24 half-tone pictures of some of the sculptural and architectural attractions of the locality. But the seriousness of the subject-matter demands a better quality printing and get-up too of his book. We hope that the next edition and its translations into the regional languages of India, which are sure to follow soon, will look more dignified.

V. RAMASUBRAMANIAM (Aundy).

S. Padmanabhan: '*In and Around Kanyākumari*': (Kumaran Padippagam, Ramavarmapuram, Nagercoil 1, 11th Edition, pp. 40, Price Re. 1—00).

This is a 100 per cent guide-book for pilgrims and tourists of Kanyāmumari district. It gives succinct accounts of more than twentyfive holy places and shrines in and around the above district, starting from Tiruchendur in the East and ending with Varkalai in the West coast. Its nine sections cover, among other sacred localities, the temples, churches and mosques of Tiruchendur, Ovari, Tinnelveli, Nānguneri, Nagercoil, Suchindram, Kanyākumari, Parakkai, Padmanābhapuram, Thuckalai, Thiruvithānkodu, Thiruvattār, Trivāndrum and Janārdanam. Besides 31 half-tone pictures, the book contains a guide-map also to help the tourist.

V. RAMASUBRAMANIAM ('Aundy').

Yagadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya and *Yogavimsikā* of Ācārya Haribhadrāsūri (with English Translation, notes and introduction by Dr. K. K. Dikṣit) Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series No. 27. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandira, Ahmedabad-9, pp. 8+130 April 1970. Price Rs. 8/(-).

Haribhadrāsūri was a sound Jain scholar, well-versed in the Yoga philosophy of other systems also. He has to his credit a number of works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, bearing on the subject. This book represents one such publication, the outcome of a mature mind, which has shed the idea of theological sectarianism. For him, Yoga does not represent the concepts variously described as 'preventing the distraction of the mind' (*citta Vṛtti Nirodhaḥ*) but "that which is yoked to Mokṣa (Mokṣena Yojanāt Yogaḥ) (p. 121, verse 1). The author has a novel way of approaching the subject. He desires to impress on his co-religionists the ethical basis of his approach represented by the 14 Gunasthānās, typical of the Jains. As one with a broad outlook to accommodate other religionists, he has, like Patanjali, Bhagavadatta and Bhadanta Bhāskara divided these stages in the conventional manner of these religionists, in eight successive stages of ethical perfection namely, Mitṛā, Tārā, Balā, Dīpra, Sthira, Kāntā, Prabha and Para, each of these being sub-divided into three types of spiritual qualification (Yama, Adveṣa and Akhṛeṣa). That he is above fanaticism and loves ethical values as stepping stones for attainment of Mokṣa is revealed in the stanza, "Sarvatra Adveṣinacceite Gurudeva dvijapriyaḥ/Dayā-lavo Vinitacca Bodavanto Yatendriyaḥ"// (Page 94 verse 211).

In the seven sections of the book, an elaborate account and description is given about these stages and about the four types of yogins. However, one gets confused at the types and analysis of the varying types in their nuances serving as stepping stones for the final stage. Appendices I & II (in English) are enlightening. To help readers, a transliteration and a detailed note are attached to each verse.

Haribhadra's parting exhortation in verses 222 to 228 (pp. 96 to 98) is really significant when read with his general remark in verse 207. He feels that he has "evolved his theories from the many in the field "for the sake of refreshing my memory" (Ātmānusmṛtaye Paraḥ). The humility expressed by him redounds to his greatness (verse 222) as a Jain scholar of no mean attainments.

The *Yogavimsika* is a work in Prākṛit containing twenty verses, each rendered into Sanskrit for the convenience of readers. Here, however, Haribhadra makes a sharp distinction in human activity between Yogic and non-Yogic manner of doing things. By this he means noble and ignoble actions. This concept of Yoga, peculiar to this book, is further sub-divided into five types viz. Sthāna, Ūṇa, Artha, Ālambana and Anālambana. The first two of these are Karmic actions of the limbs while the three last are the work of knowledge. Haribhadra believes in the Karma theory and its effects on man. At the same time he advances the three concepts Kṣayopasama, Upasama and Kṣaya as successive stages for reduction of Karmic effects so that one attains Kaivalya and Mokṣa.

The commentator has done great service by this rendering of the Sanskrit Text into English in an admirable manner. This is a useful addition to the books on Jain literature.

S. THIRUMALACHARI.